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HISTORY OF THE ŚILĀHĀRAS

(C.A.D. 800 - 1300)

Ph.D. THESIS

(HISTORY)

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P R E F A C E

I have selected subordinate rulers of the early Medieval period in the history of the Deccan, the Śilāhāras, with a view to investigating the socio-economic life in Maharashtra and especially in the Konkan. I found that such a type of study did not receive the attention of scholars proportionate to its importance. Dr. G. M. Moraes encouraged me to undertake this type of study and because of his scholarly guidance I could carry on my study on the desired lines. I wish to thank the great scholar for this favour. I also thank the Indian Council of Historical Research New Delhi, for their generous study grant. This was a timely assistance.

The over emphasis on the literary sources has resulted in unhistorical development and therefore even the inscriptions had to be handled with an academic care and common sense. My interpretation of the different aspects of the early medieval life during the rule of the Śilāhāras is mainly based on the interpretion of the inscriptions published from time to time and now compiled in the C.I.I. Volume VI by Dr. V.V. Mirashi.

I have made an attempt to understand the socio-religious life of the Śilāhāras by making a case study of the Ambernath Temple and also I visited some places to get the legends current in the areas about the Śilāhāras. As far as possible I have furnished details in the Appendices at the end and given maps and photographs to illustrate my point of view.

I thank Dr. P.P. Shirodkar, Director of Goa Archives, and Dr. Smt. Davane Director of Research Centre, Asiatic Society of Bombay for their kind co-operation, I am grateful for the suggestions made by my friends Dr. V.V.Parke (R.K.T.College) Prof. R.R.Singh (Khalsa College) Dr. Nair (Ruparel College) and Shri Gopi Nair a research student. I desire to thank the principal of my college Shri H.D.Harisinghani and also the Management Committee of the Seva Sadan Society, Vadala. I feel obliged to the Library Staff of the University of Bombay, Asiatic Society of Bombay and R.K.T. College, without their co-operation my work would not have been so smooth.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI -- Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

ARE -- An nual Report of South Indian Epigraphy

ARIE -- Annual Report of Indian Epigraphy

ASI -- Archaeologi cal Survey of India, Annual Reports.

ASR --- Archaeological Survey of Reports by Sir A. Cunningham

ASWI -- ArchaeologicalSurvey- Survey of Western India, Annual Repos

BDCRA -- Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute

BISM -- Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal.

BKI -- Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions.

BG -- Bombay Gazetteer.

CII -- Corpos Inscriprionum Indicarum

EC -- Epigraphia Carnatica.

EI -- Epigraphia Indica.

Goa 67 Gazetteer of India, Union territory. Goa, Daman and Diu Parts] II

H.D -- History of Dharmasastra-

HCIP -- History and Culture of Indian People.

IA -- Indian Antiquary.

IC -- Indian Culture.

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ICTW -- Inscriptions from the cave-Temples of Western India

IHQ -- Indian Historical Quarterly.

INKKS -- INscriptions from Northern Karnataka and Kolhapur State.

JASB -- Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bombay

JBBRAS -- Journal of the Bombay Branch o f Royal Asiatic Society.

JRASB -- Journal of the Asiatic Research Society Bengal.

JBORS -- Journal of the Bihar orissa Research Society.

PIHC -- Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.

PRASWI -- Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India.

SI -- Studies in Indology.

SII-- - South Indian Inscriptions.

APPENDIX 'C'

CHAPTER - V

Silahara Temples

Deity	Reference	Built by	Remarks
SIVA TEMPLES			
(1) Ambernath	C.I.I.Vol. No.17 line 5-6	Chhittaraj Mummuni Insc. No. 17 (C.I.I.Vol.VI)	It might have been built by a feudatory of Śilāhara Śri Tasirayalaiya
(2) Amritesvara	C.I.I.Vol. No.59 Line 4		
(3) Avvesvara	No. 4 L. 42	Avasara	Supposed to be built by King Avasara at Goa.
(4) Bhaipesvara	No.11, L.50	Bhayipa Chief of District.	Donation by King Chhittaraja.
(5) Ghatalesvara			
(6) Gudalesvara	No.45, L.36	At Gudalaya Kolhapur	Donation by Gandaraditya.
(7) Koppesvara	No.63, L.4	Vijayaditya of Kol- Started -hapur	Built by Yadavas King Singhanas

Deity	Reference	Built by	Remarks
(8) Kumkaneśvara	-		
(9) Mahadeva	C.I.I.Vol. No. 45, L. 38/39	-	Donation by Gandaraditya
(10) Madhaveśvara	No.52, L. 21 & 43-49	Madhijjaiya	Donation by Bhaiji-payya Revenue officer.
(11) Marudeśvara	No.23 L.65-66	At Murud	King Vikramaditya of North Konkan offered the donation to a priest from Varanasi on behalf of his father Aparaditya after death.
(12) Śiva	No.48, L.26	Donation by King Gandara-ditya on the request of Malapaiyya	
(13) Tilabhandeśvara			
(14) Umamaheśvara	No.59, L.4	Bhoja II	Sahavasi Brahman Lokana Nayak built the monastry, near the temple.
(15) Uttareśvara	No.39, L.15	Thane	King Somesvara's donations.

Deity	Reference	Built by	Remarks
(16) Sopeśvara	No.36, L.11-12	Bhivandi	King Kasideva II gave donations.
(17) Vyomeśvara	No.30, L.8-9	Vyomasiva Viharoli Thane.	Chaplain of Aparaditya - II
VISHNU			
(1) Vishnu	No.48, L.26	Amatya Malpaiyya	During the reign of Gandaraditya.
(2) Laxmi Narayan	No.34, L.5		Soma Thakur gave donation when Kasidev II ruled
BRAHMA	No.48, L.26	Kadityama-ya mailaiyya	Kaditametya (Military Minister)
(1) Kartikeya	-	Chiplun Vinya Vasani Cave.	
(2) Siddha Gajjesvara			
(3) Sridhar	-	Thane Jondhali Bag	-

Deitty	Reference	Built by	Remarks
ADITYA			
(1) Kanakaditya	No.60	Renovated by Bramanas.	Jakhara Mandalik
(2) Khedatya	No.48	At Brahmapuri Kolhapur.	Built by minister of Gandharaditya
(3) Lavanaditya	No.7 L.62	Bhiwandi	Donation by Aparajit.
FEMALE DIESIES			
(1) Bhagvati	No.12, L.17	place sayyan	Donation by Somento Chamunda--rrya.
(2) Jogeśvari	No.21, L.14	At Jogesvari	Relief in taxes by Apariditya I
(3) Katyani	Ep.Ing.Vol. XXVII	-	Minor Dynasty of Silahara
(4) Lakhumadevi	No.28, L.1	-	Prayer King Mallikarjuna
(5) Mandakini Mahisasura Mardini	Ep. Ind., Vol.XXVII	-	Minor Dynasty of Silahara

Deity	Reference	Built by	Remarks
BUDDHIST			
(1) Buddha Dev.	No.45, L.34,35.	King Gandaraditya of Kolhapur	Temples of Siva and Jain also.
JAIN TIRTHANKARAS			
(1) Adinath	No.50, V. 11-13	Samant Nimberasa at Kolhapur.	
(2) Neminath	No.47,V.5	(1)Samant Nimbarasa at Herle) (2)Gandaraditya at Ajrika	
(3) Parsvanath	No.49,L.10	Samant Nimbarasa at Kayadegolla.	
(4) Rupanarayan	No.48,L.19	Nema Gawunda.	
(5) Padmavati Ep	Ep.Ind.Vol. XXVII,pp. 65-70		Minor Dynasties of Silahara
(6) Rshbhadeva	--	Khidrapur Built probably by Nimbaras.	

Note:- The images of Sridhar (Thane), Mahisasuramardini(Thane) Brahmadeva (Sopara). The Sculpture of Koppesvara (Khidrapur) if considered from the art-style point of view shows the Northern influence. The men and women represented here have better forms and figures than in most of the sculpture. A separate note regarding Ambernath is attached below.

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HISTORY OF THE ŚILĀHĀRAS

(C.A.D. 800 To A.D. 1300)

Introduction : The History of the Śilāhāras, as the title indicates, is a regional history. Its geographical focus is on the areas once inhabited and ruled by these subordinate rulers in South Gujarat, Maharashtra, Karnatak, and some parts of Andhra states. However it is not a family history of the Śilāhāras with a limited aim of furnishing genealogical information in one broad sweep of about five centuries.

The history of the Śilāhāras is seen from a wider angle. The petty rulers bearing this name stand for something higher than what their social and political status of the time would vouchsafe. Their activities and achievements viewed from this angle form a part of larger national effort and tradition. It is for this reason that these little men demand a closer attention and a deeper understanding of their role.

We hardly come across a near-tribal people (1) with an identical family name, scattered over wide tracts of land, each branch while pursuing its separate political and social activities, converge on the same ideals and objectives to produce historical change in the areas inhabited by them.

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(1) Bom. Gaz., (Old edition) Vol-III, ii Appendix D, p.409 and volume XIV p. 325. Note on Silaharas

Many attempts were made in the past by several scholars (2) but no comprehensive history of the Śilāhāras could be produced and the early death of Dr. M. G. Dixit deprived the students of ancient and medieval history of his proposed work on Śilāhāras.

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(2) First attempt was made by Rev. Alexander Kyd Nairne, B.G. Vol. I, part ii (1896); Dr. R.G.Bhandarkar, Ibid History of the Kolhapur Śilāhāras; Dr. J. F. Fleet wrote, "The Dynasties of the Canarese districts of the Bombay Presidency, Bombay, 1899; Dr. A. S. Altekar contributed an article, "History of the Silaharas" I. C. Vol. ii; Dr. V. V. Mirashi published in Marathi, Śilāhāra Rajvamsacha Itihas ani Koriv Lekh', Nagpur, 1974; He also published Corpus Indicarum Inscriptum, Volume, 1977. B.R. Gopal's *"Dynasties of south India --- KARNATAK Vol I Madras 1982". also freets of the History of Silaharas; P. B. Joshi, T. S. Shejwalkar, G. H. Khare also wrote extensively on some aspects of the History of Silaharas; *Dr. S. G. Tulpule edited many Silahara inscriptions either in collaboration with Dr. V. V. Mirashi or independently.

Dr. S. G. Tulpule edited 'Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh 'Pune 1963, which contain some Silahara inscriptions. He has discussed them fully, Varde-Walavaker's 'Valapattaacho Shodh" in Kokani throws a side light on the History of the Silaharas.

C.I.I. Vol. VI intro.p viii 1977.

Khare G. H. 'Dakshinechya Madhyayugin Itihasachi Sadhane part-I to IV Poona 1930-34.

Joshi P. B. "Uttar Konkanchya Itiha" Bombay, 1926

Many questions may be asked regarding the role of the Śilāhāras. What is so special about a single family with several branches functioning in a political field ? In what way do they differ from other feudatories serving the same masters ? Why did they not co-ordinate their efforts to follow a single line of action to establish their sovereignty instead of remaining subordinate chiefs throughout ? The explanation of these disturbing questions has to be found not in the sedentary theories but down to earth analysis of realities. The

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cont. from page (ii)

Shejavalkar, T.S. "Konkanchyā Itihāsāchi Parshvabhūmi", Poona, 1961.

Kundanagar, K. G., Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and the Kolhapur State, Kolhapur, 1939.

Krishnamachari, G. R. Bombay - Karnatak Inscriptions, Madras, 1940.

Naik, A. V. Inscriptions of the Deccan - An epigraphiral Survey- c 300 B.C. --- 1300 A.D. B.D., CRI IX, pp1-160.

Desai P. B. Studies in Epigraphy Karnataka. Historical Research Society, Dharwar, 1946.

Gadre, A. S. Important Inscriptions from Borada State, Baroda 1943.

Śilāhāras represent institutionalized approach to the problems of assimilation(3) and social harmony that had dogged the men of alien culture, like shadows in the early medieval period.

The thirteen segments of the Śilāhāra lineage so far known(4), covered a large part of the territory between the river-velleys(5) of Godavari and Tungabhadra. They exercised political authority independent of each other and left their imprint on political, social, religious and above all, the economic tenor and complexion of the time.

The Śilāhāras figured in the history of Maharashtra, Karnatak South Gujarat and Andhra in subordinate position at different times between the latter half of the eighth century.

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(3) The greatest problem is represented by Bhagavat Gita
Bhagavat Gita I 42
Sankarō nārakayaiva Kulaghnānam Kūlasya Cha
Patanti Pitarō Hyesyam Luptapindōdakh Kriya

Intermixture of castes leads the destroyers of the race as well as the race itself to hell. Deprived of the offering of lumps of rice and water (Sraddha, Tarpana etc.), the names of their race also fall.

(4) Ep. Ind. Vol XXVII (1947-48) pp 65-70; see Chapter I below.

(5) Map between pages 15 & 16

(6) Supra p.1

and the end of the thirteenth century. They showed a marvellous capacity for sustained efforts to hold the levers of political authority with vicissitudes of fortune for five centuries or so, and yet are relegated to an obscure place(7) in the annuals of the national history. This strange phenomenon in the political developments is characteristic of the people who struggled to preserve their identify and their approach to problems of the state and society, through-out the long period.

There is a tendency to dismiss the Śilāhāras as mere feudatories of the Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas and Yadavas, unworthy of any special attention as they apparently treaded the routine course of subordinate rulers.(8)

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(7) 'The Early History of India' edited by G.Yazdani in two volumes part I to VI, and part VII to IX making a passing reference to Śilāhāras while describing the exploits of Imperial Rashtrakutas Chalukyas; Gopal B.R. 'Minor dynasties of South India----- Karnatak Vol, I p.1. He observes - They were minor dynasties in the sense that they never ruled far beyond their own snall areas on which soilthey were born, had grown and become powerfull enough to wield authority in those regions. Their history is a apart of regional history".

(8) Ibid.

A close scrutiny of the activities of these people would evidently provide a useful information on the forces of change[9] that were to shape the political and social life in the Deccan in general. The Śilāharas remained closer to the common people and were not led by false notions of status and prestige. They did not entertain prejudices of superiority like their imperial masters who hardly condescended to care for the plight of the people as they were busy in their constant wars.

The Śilāhāras do not blaze through the politiral horizon in a blinding flash of great victories on the battle-fields to fades out by subsequent disasters and defeat. They showed the tenancity and vitality to survive the mounting political instability, rise and fall of Rashtrakuta and Chalukya empires,[10] the proliferation of chiefs and constant wars for establishing hegemony over the neighbouring tiny states. The role of little men like the Śilāhāras in history is devoid of dazzling

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(9) The economic aspect to some extent has been highlighted by G.R.Kuppuswamy, in his book Economic conditions in Karnatak (A.D.) 973 to A.D. 1336. Karnatak University, Dharwar, 1975 p. 156; Dr. A.S.Alteker has also brought into clear focus the administration of Śilāhāras in his book 'The Rashtrakutas and their Times', Poona 1934 pp 164-184.

(10) The Early History of India Part I to XIV ed. G. Yazdani. Articles by K.A. Nilakabtha Sastri and A.S. Alteker.

brilliance but these small men form the backbone of the erstwhile society. The large-size men[11] strike fear and awe in the minds of people, they force the society to depend upon their caprice. They disturb the society and very often shake the society to its foundation for some time. They however fail to leave a permanent stamp of their glorious war-achievements on the routine life of the masses.

We are concerned here with the grass-roots of the Deccan Society of the early medieval period. We should take a fresh look at the epigraphical records[12] and try to get a glimpse of the ideas and ideals, the hopes and fears, the joys and sorrows of those people. Such an attempt may provide definite index to the general trend and the mood of the cross-section of the medieval Deccan society in general and that of Maharashtra in particular.

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(11) Plekhanov 'The role of the individual in history in the Theories of History Ed. Patrick Gardiner (London 1959) P. 143. 'Among the select the following are important.

(12) Selected inscription from Maharashtra B.I.S. M.Poona No. 67, 1947, Ed. M.G. Dixit; Dakshinchya Madhya Yugin Itihasachi Sadhane Khand 4, Poona 1951 edited M. G. Dixit; Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh. Ed. S.G. Tulpule Poona 1963; Archaeological Survey of India. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum. Vol. VI Inscriptions of the Silaharas. New Delhi 1977

The Śilāhāras were not the local people,(13) they came from the north; they brought new outlook and new methods.(14) They were more of a food-gathering pastoral community rather than people of a developed agricultural society. They were happy with a military profession(15) and they were at ease with the hills and velleys, rivers and lakes, mountain passes and forests. They kept on moving forward and their dynamic activities always enabled them to seize opportunities in the ever changing political climate after the withering away of the established centres of authority. They were caught in the cross-currents of social and economic forces(16) that developed after the invasions of the Arabs and the Turks in the middle of the 8th century and the first quarter of the 11 century respectively.

A student of history has to keep his eyes open to understand all the shifting conditions, the values and morals of this formative period of legends and myths,(17) as there is every possibility of getting a distorted picture from them.

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(13) Chapter on - 'Origin and Home of the Silaharas'

(14) Note:- They wandered in search of places where they could establish their political authority by armed strength. They assumed the role of barons under the erst while rulers. They identified their fortunes with the welfare of the people they ruled and inculcated the national feeling.

(15) 'Mahakshatriyāhvaya,' Great warrior Community Vijayaditya's Kolhapur Stone Inscription dated A.D. 1142. CII Vol.No.53 Line 3.

(16) The challenge of the Arab merchants, Aparajit's defence C.I.I. Vol. VI Nos. 5 to 7.

(17) e.g. Kielhorn F. 'Kalchuris of Tripuri, Epigraphia India, Vol. II pp. 300-05. Tod, J. Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, I. p.176.

The period between the eighth and the tenth centuries in the Deccan was full of fabricated genealogies[18] and the assimilation of the foreigners, the mlecchas, into the body politic, favoured a romanticism of military exploits. The minor dynasties followed their example.

In order to understand the socio-political frame-work within which they had to function, we must first examine the geographical[19] features and the geopolitical conditions of the 8th century Deccan.[20] The areas where the Śilāhāras had acquired their possessions or set up their principalities would obviously receive more attention. In this respect the Śilāhāras of North Konkan enjoy pride of place as they alone showed the capacity to exercise political authority, no doubt with fluctuating degrees of success , for 456 years; the Kolhapur branch progressively improved their position with the passage of time and ruled Kolhapur region for 276 years and the South Konkan branch struggled to maintain

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(18) Note: The Gangas and Candella dynasty claim Chandravamsi descent the Chalukyas of Vengi. The Chalukyas of Badami and the Western later Western Chalukyas all claim Solar descent. The Rasktrakutas claimed Yadukulavamsi descent.

(19) Chapter I

(20) Chapter II

their authority for 249 years, while the other branches were active during the eleventh and twelfth centuries[21] with very little glamour.

There are certain unanswered questions relating to the history of the Śilāhāras. They have to be answered and satisfactory explanations about some important questions have to be offered. One of such questions is the Origin and home-land of the Śilāhāras. This subject has been discussed by eminent men like Dr. J. F. Fleet, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar Dr. A. S. Alteker, Dr. V. V. Mirashi and others from the beginning of this century.

The limitations of the source-material -- a few c inscriptions and a very few coins, archaeological remains and the literary sources which conceal the face of truth more than reveal its real form, make it difficult to present a comprehensive and true history of the Śilāhāras. However, a fresh look at the events and the re-reading of the epigraphs would be rewarding.

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(21) The period of each is reckond on the accepted basis of the known dates of rulers according to epigraphical records and each ruling king is assigned between 20 to 25 years. The genealogical tables are given in the chapter on dynastic rule.

The Śilāhāras of many segments of the lineage lovingly refer to the township of Tagarnagar[22] which has been identified with Ter in the Osmanabad district of Maharashtra. The point to be settled is that when the Śilāhāras claim the lordship of Tagarnagar do they really mean Ter in the Deccan, or some place which their scribes hesitate to name it openly for reasons best known to them ?

The Śilāhāras are variously named in their inscriptions such as Śilār,[23] Silār,[24] Siyalār[25] and Śailāhār.[26] The difference in the writing may be due to the different pronunciations current in those areas. There is however, another interesting fact which attracts our attention. The name of the clan or the lineage is mentioned in some places as Khéchar,[27] although in most of the places it is mentioned as Vidyādhara.[28] This difference has to be explained.

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(22) Bom. Gaz. (old ed) Vol. I, part ii p 674
(23) Chhaidvaideva's Prince of Whales Museum Copper-plate, Line - 28-29 (C. II. Vol. VI No. 4)
(24) Bhandup plates of Chhittaraj, Line 2/3 (Ibid No. 45)
(25) Miraj plate of Marsimha, Line 2/3 (Ibid No. 45)
(26) Talale Plate of Gandaraditya, Line 2 (Ibid No.45)
(27) e.g. Miraj plates of Marasimha, Line 9 (Ibid No.43)
(28) e.g. Chhadvaideva's Prince of Wales Museum Copper-plate, Line 25 (Ibid No.4).

An attempt has to be made to incorporate the different aspects and the variations in the names, their claim of the descent from Jeemutavāhan, the king of the Vidhyādharas in the Himalayan region, the foundation of their principality in the Deccan by Neela[29] and Mahaneela[30] and their patronage to the Buddhists and the Jains. Such an explanation should also cover such sensitive areas as the lordship of Simhala or Ceylon,[31] and the title of Mahakshatriya[32] and Sahajavidyādhar.[33]

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(29) Karakanda Charau, 5, 13.

(30) Vijayaditya's Kolhapur Stone Inscription, Line 3 (C II, Vol. VI No. 53).

(31) Mummuni's Dive Agar Copper-plate Line 4-5 (Ibid No.6)
Anantadeva I's Kharepatan Copper plate Line 59-60 (Ibid No. 19)

(32) Vijayaditya's Kolhapur stone Inscription Line-3 (Ibid No. 53)

(33) Janjira plate (set II) of Aparajit Line 49 (Ibid No.6)

We also will have to examine the view that the 'Śilāhāras were Kannada speaking"[34] and another view that North-Konkan was called Kavadidvipa after Śilāhāra king Kapardi I.[35] A further enquiry should be conducted regarding the seniority among various segments. It seems the South-Konkan Śilāhāras who had enjoyed the so-called seniority have now been replaced by Akkalkot[36] branch. There are many other minor points like the civil war[37] in the North-Konkan Śilāhāra family to be explained satisfactorily.

The Śilāhāra administration also provides some interesting features and it would be rewarding to compare it with contemporary[38] pattern and see whether they laid the foundation of a stable government.

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(34) C, II, Vol. VI Intr. pvi

(35) Ep. Ind., Vol, XIII p 300.

(36) Ep. Ind. Vol, XXVII pp 65-70

(37) Ananatapala's Kharepatan Copper plate, dated 1094 A.D. verse-24, C. II, Vol, VI No. 19

(38) e.g. Paramaas and Kadambas.

The social relationship also provided a challenge during this period. There seems to be a spiritual reconciliation and religious peaces(39) subsequent to the Arab invasion of Sind but this period witnessed the emergence of many Śaiva cults(40) and a religious zeal not experienced in the preceding centuries. The question that haunts every writer of history of this period is the decline of Buddhism and the spread of Jainism in the South and the toleration towards Islam(41). The names of the Buddhist monks and also Śākta, Nātha, Pāśūpata, Veerśaiva and Mahānubhāva spiritual guides and the Jain ācharyas and 'mūnis' crowd the literature of the Deccan. This was a period of writers of commentaries(42) on Smriti literature. The Purānas compiled in the earlier centuries were settling down to final forms or were being remodelled.

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(39) Gandarāditya's granted land to the temples of Buddha, 'Siva and Jain C. II, Vol, No. 45 Line 34.

(40) They are discussed in some detail in Chapter on religious conditions.

(41) Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I, p.4.

(42) i. Visvarupa, commentary on Yajnyavalkyasmriti (800 A.D. to 850).

ii. Medhatithi, commentary on Manusmriti (900 A.D.)

iii. Utpala commentary of Brhat-Samhita (966 A.D.)

iv. Vijnanesvara, commentary Mitaksara on Yajnavalkya-smriti (1070 A.D. to 1100)

v. Laksmidhara-Kalpataru (1100-1150)

vi. Aparārka, commentary on Yajnavalkyasmriti (1125 A.D.)

vii. Somesvaradeva, Manasollasa (1127 A.D. to 1138 A.D.)

The interesting point about Hinduim and its champions, Śankaracharya and his followers and the eminent writers among whom Śilāhāra King Apararka is included, staunchly supported Varnaśrama Dharma, when Jainism and other cults were becoming more popular. The impact of Islam also is an interesting point. How is that it was not taken seriously ? We find Hemadri the Minister of Yadav King Ramadev, busy compiling his 'Chatūrvarga Chitamani', when Alla-ud-din Khalji destroyed temples and Hinduism was trembling before the Turks from the time Someśvara - temple was desecrated ?

The main hurdle that prevents the student from understanding realities of the time and provide rational explanation to the several stubborn problems is the lack of reliable source material bearing on the economic and social aspects during this period of tension and confusion. This only leads over enthusiatic Marxian theorist to twist the insufficient available data to conclude that Caste was a class on a primitive level of production.(43)

We should however attempt to piece to-gether the available evidence and review the trade and commericial relations within the country(44) and set our sights beyond

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(43) Kosambi, D.D., The culture and civilization of Ancient India. p.50.

(44) e.g. the role of Vir Vananja. Gandhariditya's Kolhapur stone-inscription of 1136 A.D.; Hayyamana Chhittaraja's Chinchani Copper plate of 1034, A.D.

the borders of the country, if so possible. This might provide us with knowledge about the foreign policy of the Śilāharas. The information about the foreign trade of the merchant-guilds like the 'Vīr Vananja,' and the financial transactions of the monasteries at Kanheri would furnish some useful information. This would provide some reliable data(45) about the economic conditions of the people in the Konkan in particular and the Deccan in general.

A searching enquiry has to be conducted about the agricultural and industrial production to know the level of economic progress and the standard of living as the people during this period were suffering from the agonies of never-ending wars.(46)

The accounts of the foreign travellers(47) who visited the Deccan or who wrote what they heard about it, help us to construct an intelligible picture about the economy(48) of the Konkan. The customary land-grants and the temple-economy(49) as an offshoot of the nascent feudal structure, tie us down to

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(45) Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva, E.S. III p. 286

(46) Note:- War economy may sound a modern term but this period aptly fits into the conventional pattern of war-economy discussed in chapter on economic conditions.

(47) Elliot & Dowson, Vol, I, pp. 136-37;

(48) Ibid, pp, 89-90

(49) Brinjadulal Chattopadhyaya, Coins and Currency system in South India p. 150

the details of the routine. The hoarding of gold and wealth, the ethics of the trade-guilds and the merchant community in general, the price structure shaped by non-economic considerations, and the needs of the military; such factors prevent us from getting a transparent view of the material aspect(50) of the Śilāhara dominions and the Deccan civilization.

The Śilāhāre period has a special significance in the social and cultural achievements. The scholars of that period wrote under the weight of traditional ideas about the ideal structure of the society and therefore felt the need of 'Kali-varja' provision(51) as they ignored reality while formulating their theories and commentaries on the ancient Smritis. They avoided the straight answer to a simple yet disconcerting question, "Why were they avoiding social equality and social justice?" The facts must be faced and it is better to highlight the ugly features of reality in the Social structure even if it meant exposing our scholar-ancestors who gave the law and now stand condemned before our generation, according to our modern idealogies.

The Śilāharas were evidently men with lower social status but they firmly entrenched themselves in the upper stratum of the Deccan society by sheer strength of their arms.

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(51) Kane, P.V. 'The history of Dharmasastra' Vol, III pp 930 - 968.

They pleased the priests by giving them liberal grants and gifts or in simple words by bribing[52] them. They honoured the merchant community, the Vīr Vananja[53] and Hyyaman[54] and then Nouvitas.[55] Did such type of appeasement produce peasant revolts? Are we justified in our conclusion that reconciliation and peace were the main springs of their strength to retain their position for centuries together?

A pragmatic approach to the problems faced by these subordinate rulers in the fluid situation, when no holds were barred, might provide us with some useful clues to the understanding of the medieval society better than merely reviewing the exploits of rulers. If they compromised their position in one way or the other to bring about harmony among the different elements in the society, it would be worthwhile to know their complete plan; that may provide a key to the understanding of the factors that ensure sucess of democracy in backward areas. We find in the inscriptions of the North Konkan-Śilāhāras references to the invitation to the representatives nearly of all the sections of the society[56] along with the bureaucrats and king's men to witness a solemn ceremony of land-grants. That was very significant.

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(52) Kosambi, D.D. Op. cit, p, 171

(53) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription, dated 1136, A.D. Line 12.

(54) Chhittraja's Chinchani Copper-plate, dated 1034, A.D. Line-10.

(55) Anantadeva I's Kharepatan Copper-plate, dated 1095 A.D. Line - 66.

(56) e.g. Chhittaraja's Bhandup Copper-plate, dated 1026 A.D. Line 24 to 27.

CHAPTER I

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF THE ŚILĀHĀRA DOMINIONS

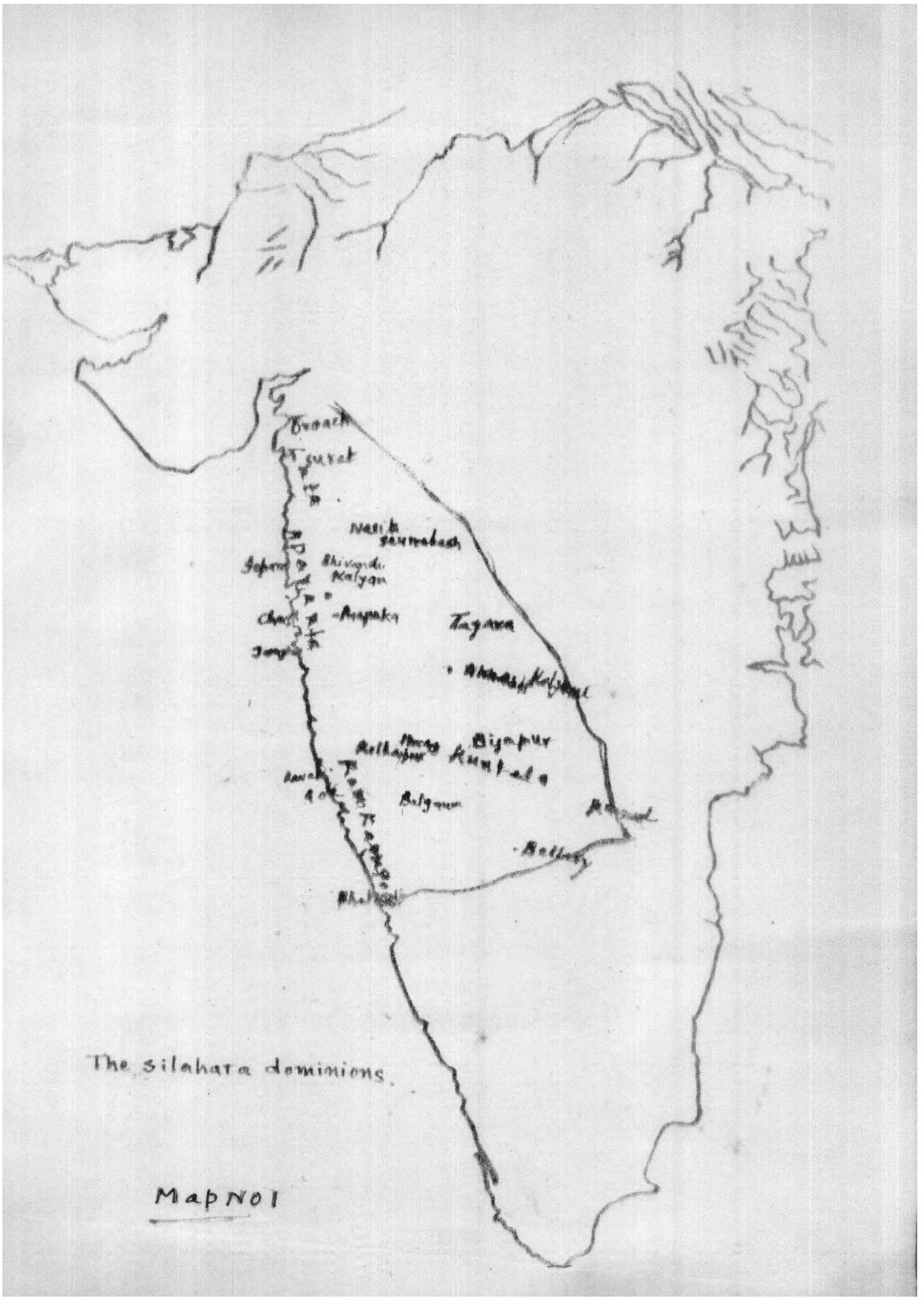
The Śilaharas had made their lodgements in different parts of the Deccan. The segments of the Śilāhāra genealogy became prominent from the middle of the eighth century A.D. or a few years after the Arab invasion of the lower Indus region. The following thirteen[1] segments enjoyed political authority in varying degrees in the regions indicated below:

Śilàhāra dominions: (1) North Konkan, (2) South Konkan, (3) Kolhapur, (4) Akkalkot, (5) Kheda, (6) Tarddavadi, (7) Pauthage, (8) Elemula, (9) Muttagi, (10) Umrani, (11) Basaura. The two other segments were (12) the predecessors of the Kolhapur line, namely Karad line[2] and (13) the offshoot of the Northern Konkan[3] Line at Chaul.

The above mentioned territories would form a great triangle[4] in the map of the Deccan. The Western coast from Broach in the North to Goa in the South, would make the base of the triangle. A zigzag line running at an acute angle towards the East from Goa to Koppal and Kurnool, would form the second arm and a line joining Kurnool to Broach in the North-West would complete the triangle.

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1. Gopal, B.R. Minor Dynasties of South India - Karnataka Vol.I, 1982 pp.136-149; Ep.Ind., Vol.XXVII, pp.65-70; Mirashi V.V.C.I.I.Vol. VI, intro.p.IX-X and pp.186-187.
2. Mirashi, V.V., 'Śilāhāra Rajavamsacha Itihas ni Koriva Lekh. p.160.
3. Brijadulal Chattopadhyaya, Coins and currency system in South India C.A.D. 225-1300.p.49.
4. Map No.1.



The Silahara dominions.

Map NO I

This triangle would cover a region between North Latitude 14° to 21° and Longitude 73° to 80°E[5].

The Śilāhāras in their inscriptions lay a tall claim to their having been the masters of the land from the Himalyas in the North to the banks of river Tungabhadra in the South[6]. The territories in the Deccan mentioned on the previous page however constituted their dominions in which they actually exercised political authority not always independently, but to some extent enjoying the position of important chieftains in the regions, under the erstwhile suzerains[7]. The study of the physical features of these regions[8] would help us to form a proper understanding of the important factors that shaped their activities.

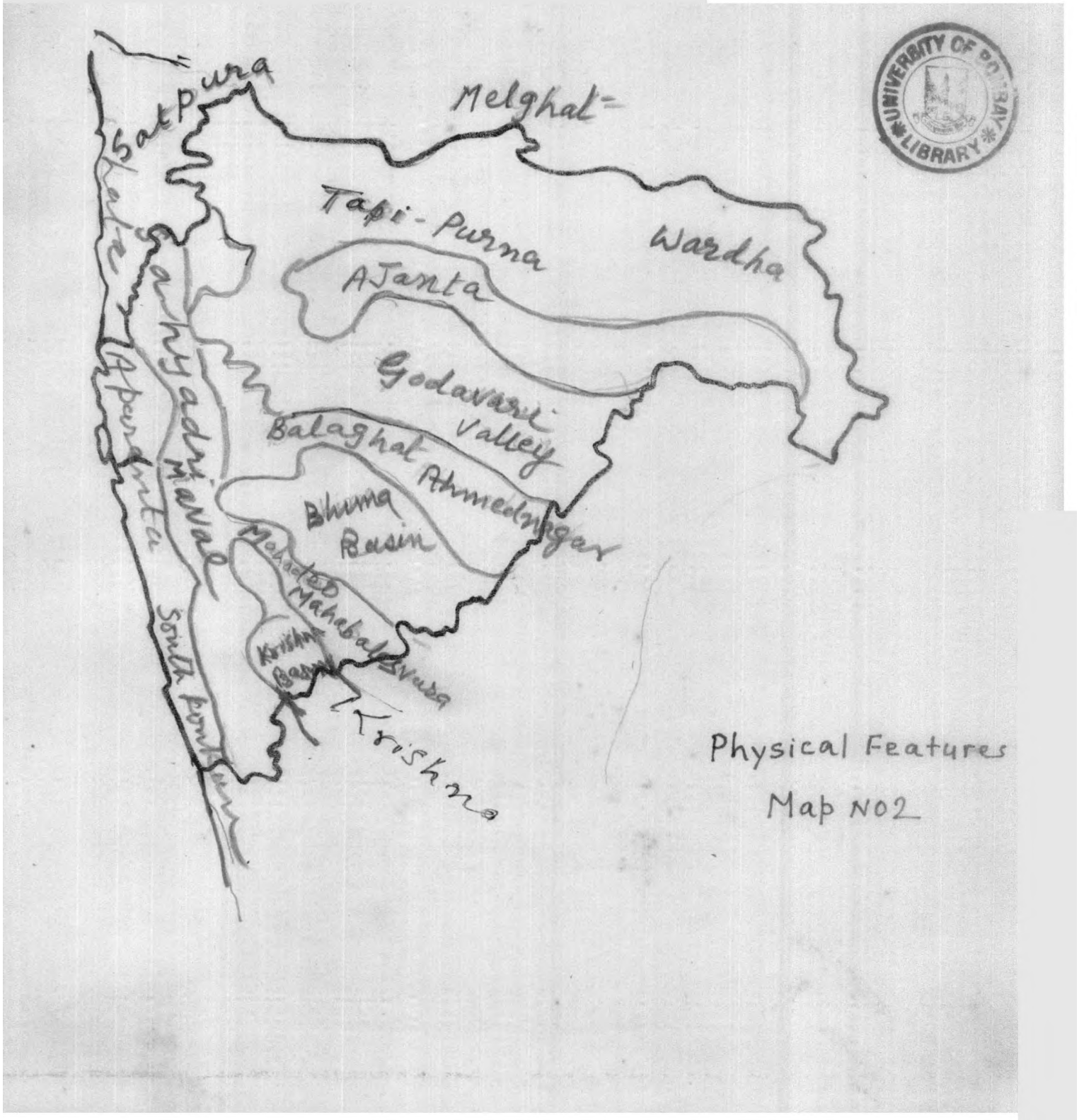
Physical Features:

Even a cursory look at the physical map of the Deccan and the modern Maharashtra in particular, would focus our attention on the mountain ranges running West-East and North-South with a plateau formation between the Western and the Eastern seas.

The Maharashtra plateau is formed of plateau basalt and the same is deeply dissected by the rivers flowing Eastward Godavari, Bhima, Krishna and their tributaries[9]. Although

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5. Map No.1
6. Mirashi, V.V. Op. cit., Intro.p (ii); Ep.Ind.Vol.XXVII, F.Note No.9 p.70.This is discussed in Chapter III.
7. The overlords from A.D. 753 to 973 were Rashtrakutas, from 973 to 1189 the Chalukyas.
8. Map No.2
9. Arunachalum, B. Fundamaetals of Geography (Maharashtra) p.149.



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the Western Ghats have an average height of 1200 meters the Deccan plateau falls in height to less than 300 meters both towards East-North-East and the East[10].

The Deccan plateau containing the dominions of the Śilāhāras during the 8th to 13th centuries can broadly be divided into three distinct regions :-

1) The Deccan Plateau from the Satputa Hills in the North to the confluence of Krishna Tungabhadra region in the South.
2) The Krishna-Bhima-regions.
3) The Western Coast region.

Region (1) The Deccan Plateau

The dominions ruled by the several branches of the Śilahāra line were scattered throughout the vast expanse of the Deccan Plateau. The most important place was Akkalkot, East of Sholapur (17°-22' to 17° - 50' North lat. and 75° - 40' to 76° - 13' E. Long.). It is an open rolling plain, 1200 ft. above the M.Mean sea-level with abundant water supply, as it is situated in the vicinity of rivers Sina and Bhima[11]. Sholapur district is bounded by Ahmednagar on the North and river Bhima on the West and to its East lies Akkalkot and the former Nizam State now the modern Marathvada[12].

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10. Ibid.
11. Bom.Gaz., Vol. XIV (Sholapur - Akkalkot) p. 504
12. Map. No.3

Bijapur Dist

Belgaum

Jamkhind

Mudhol

Indi

Sindgi

Bijapur

Bagewadi

Bagalkot

Mudebihad

Hungadi

Badami

Torgal

Ramdurg

Dharwar

PUNE border

Satara

Phaltan

Wai

Medha

Satara

Koregam

Vadus

Aundh

Karad

Vita

Peth

Tasgaum

Daphlepur

Kolhapur

Kolhapur Dist

Varna R

Tasgaum

Rajapur

Pethapankale

Budhargad

Kolhapur

Sangli

Miraj

Petha Shiru

Kagal

Gadhinglaj

Pethe

Sawantwadi

Venegurla

Belgaum

Sholapur Dist

Ahmednagar

Phaltan

Armala

Nira R.

Akluj

Malsiras

Madha

Satara

Pandharpur

Akkalkot

Mangalvedhe

Bijapur

Map NO 3.

The next important region is Bijapur district. (15°-48' to 17°-20' North Lat and 75°-24 and 76°-31' E.Long) River Bhima separates it from Sholapur, Akkalkot and the former Nizam state[13].

Bijapur district is an excellent example of geological scenary with Indi trap. Badami Sandstone, and Don valley. It is about 110 miles North-South and 130 miles from the West Coast[14]. The places under the influence of the Śilāhāras, such as Indi, Sindhgi, Bijapur Town Bagewadi, Bagalkot, Badami and Hungund were located in this district[15]. Almel,[16] 12 miles North of Sindgi[17] was founded by Bijalla in A.D. 1156 - and Bagewadi[18] (Nilgiri Pattana), 25 miles S.E. of Bijapur was the birth-place of Basava, the reviver of the Lingayat faith. Badami the capital of the early Western Chalukyas, although not under the control of Silaharas, but was the most important centre of political, economic and social activities. The town of Badami lies picturesquely at the mouth of a ravine between two rocky hills in its North and South. The dam to the East between the foot of the hills forms a large restevoir of water[19].

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13. B.G.Vol.XXIII (Bijapur) p.1-2
14. B.G.Vol.XXIII, p.1-2
15. Ibid. Silaharas were not the soverign rulers of these regions but enjoyed feudatory status.
16. Ibid p.548
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid. pp. 564-65
19. Ibid. p.550.

The Satpudas, the Ajanta-Satmalas-, the Balaghat and Mahadev ranges form the watershed, as the tributeries of some Deccan rivers rise in this regions. The Godavari, Krishna and Bhima are the three main rivers which traverse the regions between 14°N to 21°N Latitudes and 70° to 80° E Longitudes. The Deccan plateau within this area is deeply furrowed by the rivers flowing South-East. The Maharashtra plateau is formed of basalt rocks and the slope of the plateau is gfadual towards South-East.

Between the rivers Painaganga and Manjra (18°N to 20°N Lat. and 74° to 80° E Long) and rivers Sina and Tungabhadra (16° to 18°N Lat. and 73° E to 77° E Long) is a lowland with an average height between 300 m to 600 m from the Mean sea level. Only the Balaghat range and Ahmadnagar plateau present a high level plateau. This part of the Deccan plateau can be easily divided into Krishna basin, Bhima basin and Godavari regions[20]. These are very favourable for agriculture.

The whole region between Godavari and Tungabhdara contains terraced uplands, the erosion features and the graded river valleys almost upto their sources.

In the North, the Tapi-Purna Valley, unlike the East flowing rivers in the Deccan has Westward orientation. The valley is a rift valley and it was a region of constant political frictions (e.g. Dhulia Bhusaval and Burhanpur). Similarly

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20. Map.No.2

the source of the Godavari river played an important part in the enriching of the soil[21] and also promoting the expansion of military control of the areas.

Region (2) Bhimā-Krishnā Region:

The perpendicular movement in the interior of the earth in this region[22] and the heavy rainfall, acclerated the denudation and produced deep valleys and stepp cliffs, high hills with flat-tops and inaccessible forests. From April to October, the percentage of water vapour is more in the atmosphere and in the morning the relative humidity is practically 100% during the monsoon. The average rainfall is 5000 mm and hence there is enough coolness in the weather. The farmers who have to work in the rain and the mud try to keep their body temperature by drinking wine made from rice. This beverage and a blanket made of local wool afford protection from cold[23].

The hill-tops contain the laterite rocks and the vegetation on the hill-tops is of an inferior type, mostly thorny bushes like that of 'nivdung' (cactus). In the shadow of thick forest, bushes and small plants grow which make this region inaccessible to strangers. It however provides full protection to the inhabitants who are familiar with the topograhy.

Another important feature of this region, is the unseasonal rain in the months of April and May[24]. It is usually

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21. Arunachalam, B., op. cit., pp.152-53.
22. Malshe, P.T. Kolhapur Shaharachya Parisaratil Bhougolik Paristhiti va Ydha B.I.S.M.Pune. Vol. 59 No.1-4 Saka 1902 p.46.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid.

accompanied by thunderstorm. The small swift moving rivers get swollen by this sudden rain. The erosion of the land is rapid and the region is partitioned into hills and valleys. The Western Ghats played an important part in the history of this region as dense tropical evergreen forests occupy the Western Ghats. There are most valuable forests in the North Konkan hills. The major species of the forests are teak, ain', hirda', 'kindal', 'siris', 'biwa' and 'dhavda', The Deccan plateau East of the Ghats is covered by the 'Khair', babul' and 'sal' trees. Apart from the Eastern Vidarbha, North Konkan, Nasik, Dhulia forests contain nearly one third of the timber and firewood of the region under review.

This region is important in the history of Maharashtra. The Bhima valley is dotted with isolated masses of residual hills and the valley slopes. The are basked by rock terraces. The river Krishnā rises in the Mahabaleshvara Hills. Its right bank tributory in the upper reaches, is Koyna. It rises near Pratapgarh fort. The upper reaches of these rivers are well-wooded[25]. The Vârnā and the Panchagangā and the Dudhganga are the right bank tributories of the Krishna, the Yerele is the only significant left bank tributory in the region. The Hiranyakeshi, a source of the Ghatprabhā river drains extreme South parts of the Kolhapur district[26]. The Koyna rises on the Southern slopes of Mahablesvara Hills. Krishnā-Koyanā develop steep-sided valleys in their upper reaches and thus the vallesy are thick-wooded. The valley of Krishna river gradually widens Southwards.

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25. Arunachalam, B. op.cit., pp.152-53
26. Map. No.3

Region (3) The West Coast:

The Western Coast was known to Mahabharata as 'Aparanta' and the Sea-God made Śurparaka as the Parśuramakshetra[27]. The Northern part of the Aparanta was called Lāta[28] and the Southern part was known as Revatidvipa[29].

The name Konkan[30] has several varients such as Kumkana Kunkun, and Kaunkana. Alberuni[31] writing about A.D. 1030 calls it Kunkan and mentions Tana (Thane) as its capital.

Fleet refers to Greater Konkan[32] and the Sapta Konkan is described as under:

1) Haiga (Ahikshetra) North Konkan -
2) Konkan - 900 - Goa
3) Ratnadivpa - Redi
4) Indige - Former Savantwadi State & Ratnagiri - District.
5) Konkan 1400 - Thana district
6) Kavadidvipa - Salsette[33]
7) Lāta - Navasari

The Western Coast extends from the Zuari river in

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27. Mbh, XII,49,67."Tatah Surpārakam desam Sagarastasya nirmame Sahasā Jāmadagnasya soaparantamahitalam: Map.No.2.
28. Hyderabad Archaeological series, Monograph No.14 p.11.
29. B.G.Vol. I part ii p.347. No.2
30. Asokas Inscriptions C.I.I. Vol. I p.46
31. Yazdani, G.Vol. I-VI p.35
32. Fleet, J.F.The dynasties of the Kanares Districts of the Bombay Presidency p.283.
33. Ibid. p. 283,310,543 & 567.

the South to Daman Ganga in the North, a distance of about 350 km.[34]. It lies between the high walls of Sahyadri and the Arabian Sea end is roug-hly 40 to 60 km wide. "It is a rugged country, much broken by spurs from the Ghats, intersected by rivulets and indented by creeks and coves". In places it is picturesque, with rocky islets, and capes, stretches of palm-fringed sand-beach, rich plots of rice lands and river mouths that spread out into broad lake-like estuaries. Ancient harbours and market towns lie scattered along the coast line. They represented in past ages much of the wealth and strength of India"

Ancient Geography of the West Coast

The ports and the market towns on the Western Coast mentioned by the author of the Periplus[35] Ptolemy[36] and Alberuni[37] are as follows:-

1) Barygaza - Broach[38]
2) Supara[39]
3) Kalliena - Kalyan[40]
4) Tana - Thana[41]
5) Palaepatnae - Dabhol.)
6) Malizeigare - Jaigarh)
7) Byzantium - Vyayadurga)
8) Toparum - Devagarh/Malvan) 42
9) Sesecrienge - Vengurla Rocks)
10) Aegidu - Goa - Aanjidiv.)
11) Siemulla - Chaul.)

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34. Arunachalam, B. cp.cit.,p.150. Early History of the Deccan ed G.Yazdani, Vols- I-VI, p.5.
35. The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea ed.G.W.B.Huntingford 1980 chapters 50 to 53, pp.49-50.
36. Geography viii, i.p.205 Ptolemy was a geographer of the second century A.D.
37. Alberuni's India Sachau Vols I & II, 38. Periplus, p.49
39. Periplus-Supara, Ptolemy-Soupara Alberuni - Supara
40. Periplus pp.49-50.
41. Elliot & Dowson vol.I -VI pp.58-59
42. Yazdani Early History of the Deccan Vol.

The holy places in the Konkan region from the ancient times are Ramatirtha at Sopara and Gokarna in the North Kanara. Parsurama is believed to have created this strip of coastal land[43] with a new class of Brahmins. The Chitpavans. The first Aryan settlement in the Deccan according to Dr. Bhandarker[44] was set up in 700 B.C. and this is also the time when they penetrated into the Konkan.

The Ghats:

The important feature of the West-Coast is the passes that connect it with Desh areas. There are many gaps in the Sahyadri wall called the Ghats from Goa to Daman region. They are Par, Malsej, Dive, Ramghat, Kumbha, Nana, Thal, Bhor and Balaghat[45] etc. The North-Konkan rivers are Tansa-Vaitarna and Ulhas in the Thana district; close to the mouths, these rivers have developed Longitudinal course running parallel to the coast. The Central and Southern Konkan rivers are the Patapganga. The Amba, Kundalini, the Savitri, the Vashishti, the Sahstri the Kajvi, the Vaghotan, the Karli, the Terekhol and the Zuari.

The places of the historical importance in the three regions are:-

Region (1)

Nasik - It is a pilgrim place from the ancient times.

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43. Mbh, XII, 49.67.Map No.2
44. Bhandarker R.G.Early history of the Dekkan p.10
45. Maharashtra Parichaya Vol. I & II, ed. C.G.Karve, S.A. Joglekar, & Y.G.Joshi, Pp. 32-33.

One of the sources of river Godavari, the Gautama Ganga of the South, springs from Trimbak. The main source is in the lofty cliff and the river passes beyond Nasik - the Panchavati of the epices. The Nasik inscriptions of the Satvahana dynasty[46] and the Saka Kshatrapas[47] are important source of infroamation. The Rashtrakutas had made Nasik their provincial capital[48].

2) Paithan - In the middle Goadavari region in the Modern Aurangabad district the Pratisbhana of the ancient times and the modern Paithan is situated. It eas a great trading centre and the capital of the Setvahanas[49].

3) Tagar - The modern Ter in the Osmanabad district of Maharashtra. It was situated on the trade route between Broach in the West, Vengi in the East, and Ujjain in the North[50]. The Silaharas claim the lordship of Tagar-nagar[51] and excavations have confirmed the antiquity of this place[52].

4) Akkalkot - The Ankulage of the Silahara records. It is situated between two important cities of Sholapur and Gulbarga. River Bhima passes near this place[53]. This part of Bhima basin was famous for pilgrimage. Pandharpur is to the North-West some 100 kms from here.

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46. E.I.VIII, p.60; Luder's List Nos. 1126, 1144 & 1147; J.B.B.R. A.S.Vol. VII, p.46,p.52.
47. Luder's List Nos. 1135 and 1136: Ep.Ind.Vol. VIII p.85.
48. Alteker, A.S.'Rashtrakutas and their Times' p.47.
49. The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea translated and edited by G.W.B.Hunting ford. 1980 p.49.
50. Ibid; Mujumdar R.C.Classical Accounts of India,p.365.
51. Ind.Ant.Vol. V pp.276; Ep. Ind. Vol. XII pp.250f.etc.; sec chapter III for comments.
52. Chapekar, S.N.Report of the excavations at Ter. p.54
53. B.G.Vol. XIV Akkalkot p.504.

5) Bijapur or Vijayapura of the ancient times. Two streams from the Western Ghats namely the Ghataprabha and the Malprabha join the river Krishna in the area of Bijapur district[54]. It was a seat of provincial capital of the Chalukyas[55]. The Silaharas of Tardavadi used to style themselves as the Lords of Vijayapura in their inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries[56].

Region (2)-

6) Punaka[57] or Pune - It is also referred to as Punaka 1000[58]. It was a district consisting of about one thousand villages.

7) Karhataka[59] - or modern Karad was a Vishaya or a district comprising 4000 villages. It was considered as a historical[60] place Karad was however famous as a pilgrim place[61] In Bilhana's 'Vikramadeva charita' there is a reference to the princess of Karhataka, Chandralekha in a swayamvara marriage with the King of Karnata[62].

8) Kshulakapur or Kolhapur[63]. Prof. G.Venkatrao is of the opinion that Hippokoura[64] was the Greek name for Kolhapur.

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54. B.G.Vol. XXIII p. 1-2.
55. Yazdani, G. op.cit., Vol.I-VI p.62.
56. Mutagi records B.K.No., 101-102 of 1928-29
57. Aparajit's Jangira copper plate C.I.I.Vol. VI,No.5 line 40.
58. Altekar, A.S.Rashtrakutas p.136
59. Ibid.
60. Yazdani, G.Vol. I to VI p.11
61. Ibid. p.312.
62. Bilhands' 'Vikramadevacharita' section 8 verse 2.
63. Gandaridity's Kolhapur Copper-plate C.I.I.Vol. VI No.48 Line 25, Ibid. No.54 Line 25.
64. Yazdani, G.Vol. I - VI p.134.

The Chandrapur region (Goa) was under the political control of the Satavahana[65] branch of Kolhapur and the Kolhapur was the capital of Konkan region of the Satavahanas. The Silahara branch of Kolhapur made it their capital from 10th century and it continued to enjoy that position till the fall of that branch in 1194 A.D.

Physical features of the West Coast:

The North Konkan - The present Thana district more or less constitutes the North Konkan area. The Ulhas river and its tributaries in the south and the hilly Vaitarna basin in the North make up a semi-circular basin formation. The scarpland of the Sahyadri is to the East of the Coast and Matheran an offshoot of the Sahydri is to the South-West. From Panvel to the Thana Creek and beyond a dykeridge runs parallel to the Coast[66].

About two-fifths of the land in North Konkan is under forests. Most of the land is barren and fallow. The arable area would be hardly one third of the whole region. The forests of Jawhar, Bassein, Dahanu, Khardi, Kasara and Assangaon cover this region. The interior parts of these areas are populated by the tribal people like Warlis Thakurs and Kathkaris. The Bhatsai valley covered by Shahapur Taluka is sparsely populated. Teak of the local variety is the most valuable timber of the forest. The main forest products are 'mhowa' flowers and fruits of different kinds like mangoes

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65. Gaz.India - Union territory Goa,Daman and Diu.1979. Part I p.69
66. Map No.2

and palm 'tadgolas'. The other forest products from the ancient times to this day are Khair for Kath (catechu), bamboos, hirda for tanning and medicinal purpose and honey[67].

Around Bombay island there are many islands and submerged ridges, rocky headlands and bays. The geologist hold the view that raised beaches on the Northern and Western side of Bombay suggest internal movements. There are remnants of submerged Khair forests on the Thana Creek. The effect of wave action is noticeable in the intertidal zones[68].

Central Konkan - This region has extensive low-lands. Its coast is broken and breached by many creeks especially the Janjira and Bankat creeks. The coastal features suggest that some part of the land submerged under water. The important rivers are Patalganga, Amba, Kundalika, and Savitri. The forests, marshy lands, fallow lands and pastures reduce the available land for cultivation to a mere one third.

The Southern Konkan - The modern districts of Ratnagiri, Sindhudurga and the Union territory of Goa cover this region. In this part of the Konkan there is heavy rainfall. A hard laterite cap forms an extensive barren plateaus. The hills along the coast-line are made of laterite rocks.

The lower hill terraces and valley bottoms provide the

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67. Arunachalam, B. op.cit. p.228-234.
68. Ibid. p.87.

arable land where inferior kind of rice is grown. The sandy lands along the coast are suitable for areca-nut and coconut cultivation. Further the area is full of saline and marshy land called Khar and Khajan lands. The coarse land and the laterite rocks that is the 'Varkas' lands are not favo-urable for agriculturer pooduce; only the fruits can be grown in this narrow strip of land. The Goa region is comparatively more favourable than the other northern parts, for fruit cultivation.

The main rivers are the Vasisthi, the Shastri, the Kajvi, the Vaghothan, the Karli, the Terekhol and the Zuari.

South Konkan presents a strange feature of hard rock formations which run into the sea[69].

Region (3):

Towns and ports of the Western Coast:

The Silaharas established politiczl authority over this region which had excellent port-towns.

1) Broach or Brugukatcha of the ancient times and Barygaza of Periplus[70] was a great trading centre and wagon loads of goods over a long distance from Paithan and Tagar (Ter) used to be brought to this port by road. Broach came into prominence at the cost of Sopara and Kalyan which were the chief ports during the Satvahana period[71]. However Saka

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69. Vengurla rocks. South Konkan - Arunachalam, B. Fundamentals of Geography second ed. 1973 p85. Map No.2
70. Periplus Op.cit.p.49
71. Yazdani, G. Op.cit Vol. I-VI, pp.125/126.

Kshatrapa Nahapana closed these ports to all commerce and directed the merchandise to the port of Broach in the early years of the Christian Era.

According to Periplus[72] the Arabs carried on trade with Barygaza sending their own ships there. Broahh was thus a great port of international trade and also a place where the merchants from all over the Western Coast regions used to meet even under the protection of the kings of Goa[73].

2) The Sanjan (Sindon). The Sanjan mandal of the Rashtrakuta[74] and silahara records. There was a large colony of Arabs at this town. It was a great trading centre. According to Inn Haukal there was a large Muslim population and a Jama Masjid in that town[75].

Sanjan also was an ancient town known by the name of Sanjayanti in the Mahabharata. It was at this place that the Parsis sought asylum when they were driven out from Persia after the rise of Islam and also the Beni-Israel sought asylum at Rajpuri.[75.A]

3) Sopārā or Surparaka of the Mahabharat.[76] - It was a famous place of pilgrimage and was called Ramtirtha[77] as it was created by Sea-God for Parsuram.

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72. ~~Yazdani, G.~~ Periplus by Schoff Section 21.
73. Gaz. Goa Part I p.69; Periplus by Schoff-Section 52.
74. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXII, pp.45 f.
75. Ibn Haukal Ib. 34 and 35; Bom. Gaz. Vol. XI pp.85-86
76. Bombay, Gaz. Vol. XI, p.85-86; J.B.B.R.A.S.I, 170; Bombay Gaz. XIV, p.506 ff.
77. Mahabharata, XII 49,67. Ushavattas Inscription Lines. 3 Ushavata was son-in-law of Saka Kshatrapa Mahapana. V.V. Mirashi however considers Ramthirtha as one near Pune. 'Satvahana ani Paschimi Kshatrap Yancha Itihas ani Koriva Lekh p.105

75.A. Al Kazwini, Elliot & Dawson. Vol. I, p.97; Bom. Gaz. Vol. XI pp.85-86, XIV p.506 ff

It was a chief sea-port on the Aparanta Coast and until the 4th century B.C. was a great trading centre. Al-Idrisi (born towards the end of the 11th century) described 'Subara' as a thickly populated mart with a great turn-over - " They fish for pearls here[78]". In fact Supara was the real seat of the Konkan rulers.

The remains of the Asokan mound (a Stupa) at Manikpura in Bassein, the Nirmal temple of Siva and the landscape near this place is pleasing to the eye. The Sopara of the past included Bassein and Agashi also.

4) Puri-Gharapuri - This is an island between Urlan and Bombay. It was an important place during the rule of the Mauryas of the Konkan and in 610 A.D. Ghalukyas captured it[79]. There is no reference to Puri in Al-Idrisis[80] section on the West-Coast.

5) Thana or Sri Sthanaka - Periplus reported in the second century A.D. that Broach, Supara and Kalyan were famous ports[81]. The first historical reference to Thana appears in 636 A.D. When it was sacked by the Arab Chief Usman-ath-Thakafi[82].

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78. Elliot & Dowson Vol. I p.85
79. Fleet's Kanarese Dynasties p.345, 349, 355 and I.A.Vol. VIII p.237. The identifications will be discussed in Chapter III.
80. Elliot & Dowson Vol. I pp.86-90
81. J.B.I.XXVI, pp.401 f.
82. Elliot & Dowson Vol. I pp. 115-16.

Thana did not acquire much fame till it became the headquarters or capital of the Silaharas in the 8th century. Al-Beruni[83] (A.D. 1030) refers to Thana as the capital[84] of Kunkan' and states that it stands on the Sea-Coast. Al-Idrisi (11th - 12th century A.D.) described it as, " a great trading centre. It is situated on the bank of a creek. There are very beautiful buildings. On the hills around Thana are found Kana and 'Tabasir' They are exported to the Eastern and Western countries by sea[85]".

6) Kalyan or Callien - Kalliena - Kalyan in the ancient times was famous as a port[86]. Even during the Satavahana period the Kanheri caves had attracted the people of Kalyan as a retreat to those who had grown weary of this World[87]. In the 6th century A.D. at the time of Cosmos (an Egypthtian monk) it was one of the five important ports on the West coast trading in cloth, brass and blackwood[88].

7) Chaul or Semulya or Saimur. It is about 30 miles South of Bombay. It rose to prominence at the end of the 4th century B.C.Megasthenes the Greek ambassador at the court of Chandragupta Maurya wrote about it. He called it Perimula or Automula and described it as the most famous mart of India situated on the mouth of five rivers.[89]. It was a very

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83. Bom.Gaz., (old ed.), Vol. XIV, pp.372-73.
84. Jamiut - Tavarikh by Rashibuddin, Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I. p.60.
85. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I.pp.89-90.
86. Periplus Chapter 52 pp.5 49-50.
87. Bom. city Gaz. Vol. II.p.6
88. Ibid. pp.8/9; E.I.Vol. III.p.286.
89. Pliny., Nat. Hist., VI, 21.

important town in the period of the Silaharas along with Chandrapur [90] in Goa.

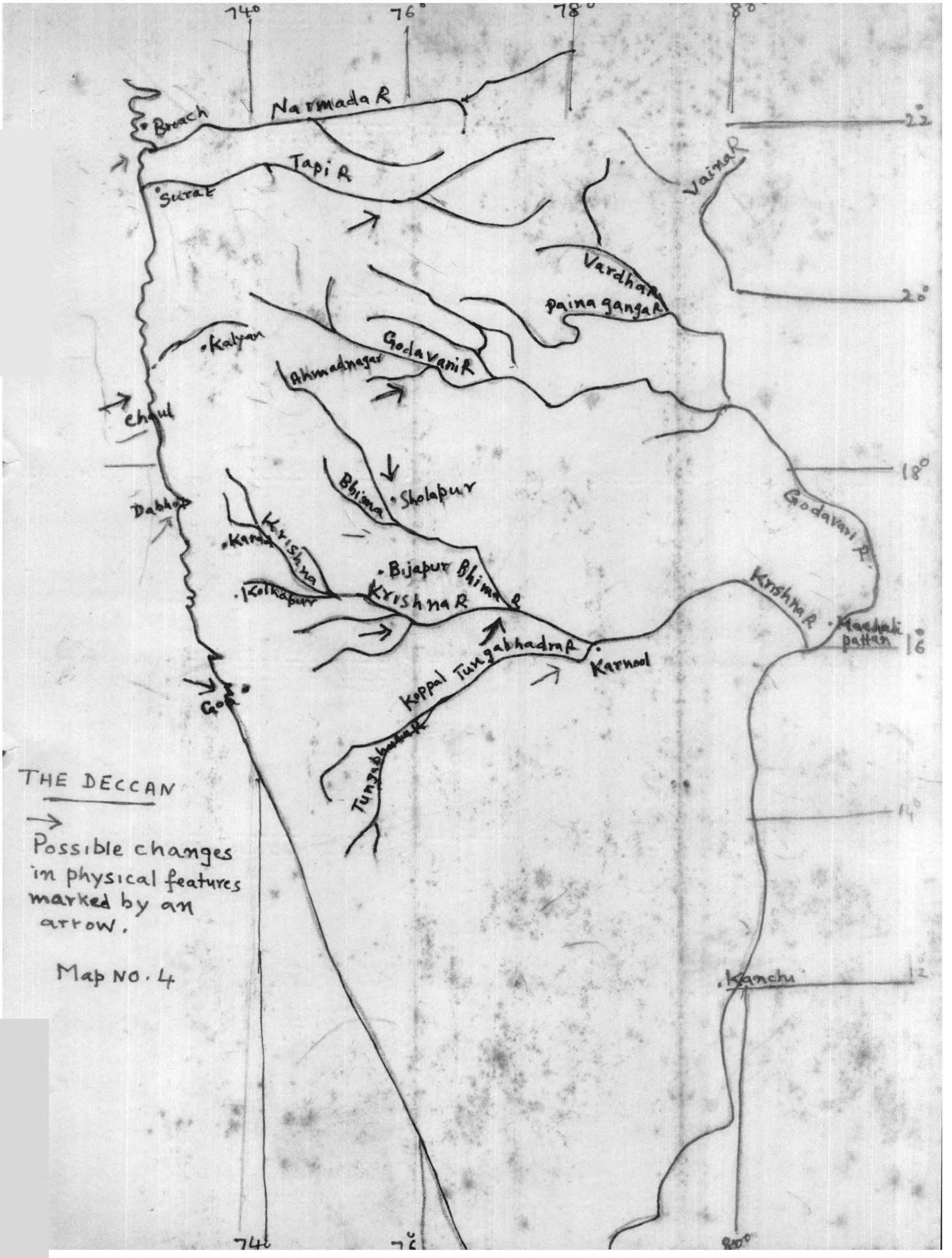
Abu Issac Al-Istakhri,[91] a tenth century writer acknowledged that Chaul had a large Muhammadan population although the rulers were Hindus. He even mentioned that a Jamma Masjid existed there. Ibu Haukal also confirmed the statement of Al-Istakhri better known as Shek Abu Issac[92]. Chemulya is also mentioned as a capital of king in one of the South Konkan Silaharas inscriptions[93]. This might have been either a second capital or a provincial capital. The possibility of an independent branch of the Silaharas family of North Konkan from Chaul cannot be ruled out.

8) Kharepatan - According to some historians this was also known as Balipattan[94]. It is situated on the bank of Vijaydurga river. It was a great trading centre. It was also a capital of Silahara King Dhamiyar[95].

9) Revati or Redi - It is eight miles S.W. of Vengurla. It was known as Revatidvipa during the Silahara period. Only recently an idol of Ganapati was discovered while excavating the hilly areas of Reddi. It may be a few centuries old.[96]

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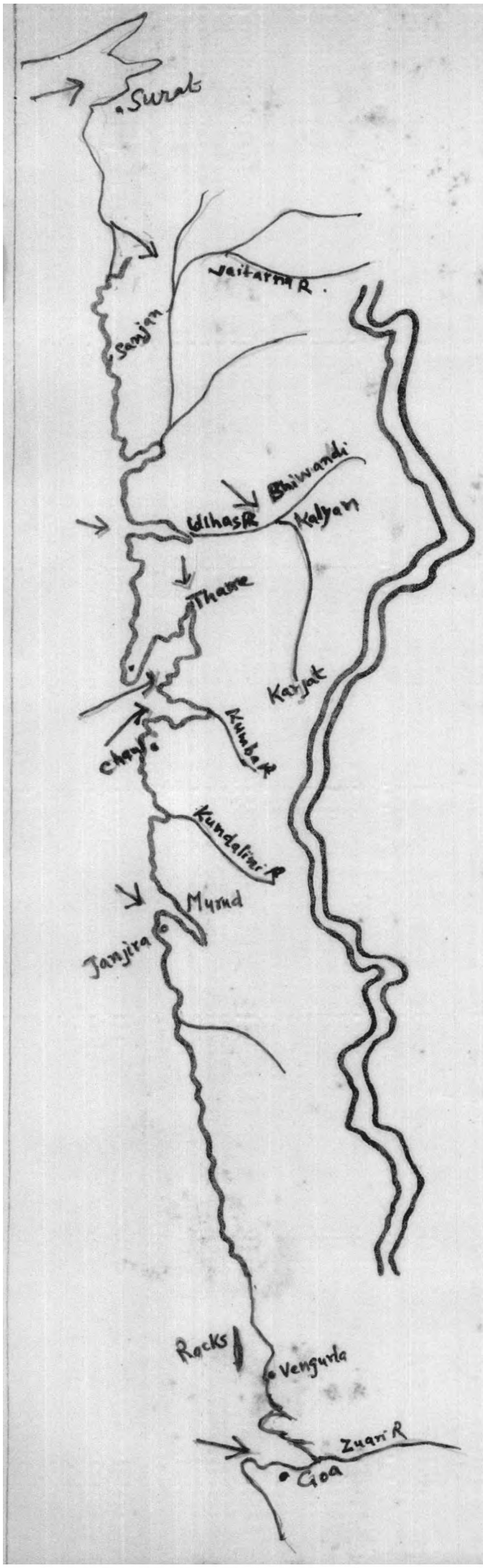
90. Rattaraja's Kharepatan Insc.dated 1008A.D.C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.41.
91. Elliot & Dowson, Vol.I p.27
92. Ibid. p.38.
93. Rattaraja's Kharepatan, Ins.C.II Vol.VI No.41.
94. Mirashi V.V.'Silahara Vamshacha Itihas etc. p.(6); Ep.Ind.Vol.XIX p.32.
95. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.40 Verse 9. The identification is discussed in Chapter III.
96. The legend as told by the natives is given in Appendix II.



THE DECCAN

→ Possible changes in physical features marked by an arrow.

Map NO. 4



KONKAN COAST

→ Possible changes in physical features marked by an arrow

Map NO. 4

Reddi was an important port.

10) Chandrapur or modern Chandor in Salsette taluka of Goa is situated on the bank of river Paroda, South Goa[97]. The Bhoja rulers of Chandrapur (4th century to 7th century A.D.) held sway over[98] the Goa coast. It was ruled by the Satvahana branch of Kolhapur[99]. The Chalukya rulers did not disturb the Bhojas even after conquering Konkan in the 7th century[100].

The changes in the topography since the Śilāhāra times

During the last one thousand years or so, many changes have taken place in the topography of the Deccan regions connected with the activities of the Śilāhāras. This is specially true of the West Coast and the river-valley regions. We have to bear in mind some special points while considering the changes in the physical features of these areas[101].

1) We will concentrate on those changes in the topography which affected economic and commercial activities.

2) We will have to ignore the present political borders and refer to the regions as they were named then at that time.

3) All the changes that took place will be explained mainly based on the historical information available in the Śilāhāra inscriptions.

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97. E.I.Vol. XXIV p.143.
98. Goa Gaz. Vol. I p.68
99. McGrindle, J.W.Ancient India by Ptolemy p.47
100. E.I.Vol. XXXI p.232.
101. Map. No.4

4) While determining the changes three factors must be borne in mind.

(1) The Deccan plateau inclines naturally to the South-East.

(2) The six rivers that flow through the regions namely Narmada, Tapi Goadvari, Vainaganga., Bhimā and Krishnā have caused the erosion of the Satpuda and Sahyadri mountains to help form the present Maharashtra-Karnataka Andhra regions.

(3) The Arabian Sea changed the Coastal regions and the movement of the lava in the interior determined the thickness of he Deccan trap[102].

The territories affected due to these changes would be those lying between the river valleys and the Sahyadri ranges. Thus Kolhapur, Karad, Sholapur, Akkalkot; Bijapur and Kurnool suggest such possibilities of changes. On the Godavari banks Nasik and Junnar also point to a similar change. However more extensive changes are to be found on the West Coast. From Daman Ganga in the North to river Zuari in the South the Coast definitely bears the marks of the changes that took place.

Let us have a look at the inscriptions to point out the changes:

1) The Śilāhāras of Kolhapur were also styled

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102. Krishnan M.S., Geology of India and Burma, Madras 1968, Deccan traps pp.405-21.

'Karhatadhipa'[103]. On the basis of the coins found in Karad Brijadulal Chattopadhya[104] expressed the view that the Karad branch of the Śilaharas had held a stretch of country that included the Southern part of Satara District, the northern part of Belgaum District and most, if not all, of former Kolhapur State. The emergence of Kolhapur to a superior position than Karad may be attributed to the gradual changes in the Panchagangā-Varṇā region.

2) The Akkalkot branch of the Śilāhāras also styled themselves as 'Vijayapuravarādhiśvara[105], which means the early settlers were attracted to this famous ancient city[106]. The City of Tagar had lost its importance and Vijayapura gradually attained a great position. It is river Bhima which separates Bijapur from Sholapur, the former Akkalkot State and Nizam territory. Further the confluence of the Ghataprabhā and the Malaprabhā promoted the prosperity of Bijapur district during the period.

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103. Desai, P.B. A History of Karnataka, p.176.

104. Brijadulal Chattopadhya Coins and Currency System in South India 1977 p.49.

105. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII p.68

106. B.K.Nos. 124.126,127,131 etc. of 1933-34.

Note:- In this connection it is worthwhile remembering that Aihole in Bijapur district was famous as Aicchatra and the organization of Vir Vanga of Ahichhatra had acquired great importance in the later Chaluka period. The stone inscriptionduring Kolhapur Silahara Gandaraditya's time (1105-1140 A.D.) will show how Aihole in Bijapur district was gaining importance in interprovincial trade. In this connection the Stone-Inscription dated 28.10.1135 A.D.C.I.I. Vol.VI No.49 is instructive.

Akkalkot[107] -

The geographical changes attracted the settlers of later times to Bijapur and Akkalkot rather than to the once flourishing cities of Tagar and Paithan which were great commercial centres in the past[108]. The prosperity of Bijapur during the early Chalukya period was also due to the changes in the trade routes.

The ancient towns of Nasik[109] and Junner[110] were losing their traditional importance as the Godavari valley was gradually becoming more extensive and trade routes were changing. The physical factors favoured the shifting of population.

The real large-scale changes however are to be found on the Western Coast. Kalyan[111] was a flourishing port in the past; Ulhas river was navigable upto Ambivli[112] which according to Dr. Mrs. Shobhana Gokhale, was a big trading centre; Bhivandi also played an important part in the trade with other ports onthe western coast. The Bhadan grant[113] of Śilāhāra Aparaditya would indicate that Lonad, 6 miles (10 Km) South east of Bhivandi was also an important trading centre. Many ruins of ancient temples[114] are still found there.

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107. Bombay Gaz. Bijapur Vol. XXIII p.1-2
108. Periplus P.49
109. Ibid., p.50
110. Mirashi, V.V., 'Satvahanas etc. op.cit.p.104.
111. Ep.Ind.Vol. III, p.286.
112. Bharat Itihas samsodhaka Mandal Pune 1976 Vol.17, No.3-4 p.40.
113. Bhadan grant C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.7
114. E.I.Vol. III, pp.267ff; Bom. Gaz. Vol. X IV.XIV, p.211ff.

Thana[115] acquired international fame. However the utility of these port-towns declined with the changing in the topography in the subsequent period. In the same way Vaitarna-Tansa river system which had once enjoyed a prosperous coastal trade lost much of its importance due to silting and changes of the course. Mandvi, 15 miles (23 Km) north-east of Bassein[116] was a custom centre as its name indicates. It was an important place as Keshideva II king of North Konkan had made a grant to Lakshmi-Narayan temple there[117].

The trade with foreign countries from Chaul[118] which is now a nearly deserted place shows the effects of the geographic changes.

Panvel and parts of Uran coast were very busy centre of commercial activity during the Śilāhāra period. Gharapuri (Elephanta) was once the capital of the Konkan Mauryas and a great fort existed there where Śilāhāra Someśvara[119] the Śilahāra had to seek resort.

Thana, Soparā and some other ports like Chaul and Panvel suffered due to defforestation, widening of creeks and the action of sea-waves.

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115. J.O.I.XXVI, pp.401f; Elliot & Dowson Vol.I pp.115-6.
116. Bomb.Gaz., Vol.XIV pp.227-28; Prachin Marathi Koriv Lakh ed. S.G.Tulpule p.98
117. Kesideva II's Mandvi Stone-Inseription. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.34
118. It is situated on the mouth of five rivers. Pliny Nat. Hist.Vol. VI, p.21.
119. Hemadri, Chaturvargachintamani V.18.

8) Revatidvipa[120] and Chandrapur[121] during the Śilāhāra period were very useful. The silting in the Terekhol Greek affected trade in the South Konkan. The Zuari river has brought about a far-reaching change and a new harbours of Panaji came into prominence. Among the main factor that brought about changes in the harbours and ports are firstly the action of the sea-water. Secondly the Monsoon storms, and the heavy rainfall in the coastal regions changed the topography more seriously than by other agents of erosion. The swift flowing rivers cut into the sides of the hills and carry the soil and other material and deposit at the estuary mouth. The sand-bars and the widening of the banks of the creeks damaged the navigation facilities[122].

The third factor that brought about the change over a long period is the destruction of the forests. The developing societies in the coastal areas undertook to clear the ~~xxxx~~ forests for making more land available for cultivation. The result of this well-meant activity was the change in the environment. This brought about changes in the weather conditions and also the vegetation.

The fourth factor which appeared rarely, were the phenomena like eruption of volcanoes and esrthquakes. The submerging of the vegetation on the banks of the rivers and especially the coastal submersion, were serious. The famous harbours and ports of the past slowly fell on evil days.

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120. J.B.B.R.A.S., p.225; B.G.I.pt.ii p.347 n-2
121. E.I.XXIV p.143. Ibid XXVI p.337; E.I.XXXIII p.61
122. Map. No.1.

Population: The Geographical conditions and the level of civilization guide us to a great extent in determining the population of a certain region. This aspect of the Indian civilization has received very negligible attention. The Skanda Purana preserves lists of figure of grams or of tax returns[123]. The figures made available about the total population of India during the historical times ~~are~~ by the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang[124] (A.D.629-645) and by Moreland[125], are 30 millions and 100 millions respectively. Russel[126] in his article on 'The population of Ancient India, A tentative pattern' has given a rough sketch about the various phases of Indian population of ~~its~~ ancient period.

The estimates of the figures of population by the above writers are based mostly on their impressions about the state revenue and the number of cities then existing. According to the Pūrāṇas the number of 'deśas' or divisions

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123. Sircar D.S.Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Midieval India, Delhi 1960p.201-204; Sircar D.C.Indian Epigraphy Delhi 1963.p.376-380.
124. Thomas Watters (trans) On Yuan Chawang's Travels in India ed. T.W.Rhys Davids and S.W.Bushell (Delhi, 1961, 2nd ed.)
125. Moreland W.H.From Akbar to Aurangzeb a study in Economic History, New Delhi, Indian edition 1972. p.302 (20 to 25 million house-holds).
126. J.O.I.History Golden Jubilee Volume ed. T.K.Ravindran (Keral.1973) p.281. Russel has given the tentative figures as follows:
i) Early period ...7 millions, ii) 500 B.R.C....9 millions iii) 250 B.C.....14 millions, iv) Gupta period (A.D.4th century to 6th century) 40 millions v) Hiuen Tsangs times (7th century) 30 millions.

of the country was 84[127] and Russel[128] is inclined to accept 30,000 gramas to a 'desa' to arrive at a figure of between 50 millions and 38 millions if 20 and 15 persons respectively, are taken to be the population of a gram.

Thus the total population of India in the medieval period ranged between 5 crores to 10 crores[129] during the 5th century to 10th century. The total area of the Indian subcontinent is 1,259,992 sq. miles.[130] (3,015,984 km) The area of the Śilāhāra dominions comprising Maharashtra, South Gujrat, parts of Karnataka and Andhra-Pradesh would be about one fifth of that number[131]. Thus the population would work to, from one crore to 2.5 crores, during the fifth century to 10th century.

Secondly the population can be reckoned by reference to the number of troops. Al-Masudi[132] believed that the armed strength was 7 to 9 lakhs, in the 10th century; Moreland gives the figure for Vijaynagar Empire in the 16th century as about one million[133]. Dr. Altekar taking these figures as a working basis for his calculation of the Rashtrakuta army strength observes, "The Rastrakutas more than once crossed swords with them (Gujrat-Pratiharas) successfully and their forces too could not have been much less in numbers."[134].

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127. Pran Nath, A Study in Economic condition p.120.
128. J.O.I. History Ibid. p.276.
129. Supra
130. The Columbia-Viking Desk Encyclopedia N.Y.1964.
131. Area of Maharashtra 133, 466 sq.miles.
132. Elliot & Dowson Vol. I.p.23.
133. Moreland India at the death of Akbar pp.16-17.
134. Altekar A.S. 'Rastrakutas' p.256.

Unlike today the striking capacity of the armed force depended more on the number of the foot soldiers than the sophisticated weapons. The large armies were essential even for a small state. Further the constant wars needed more recruits by the conquering as well as the retreating army officers. The man-power potential being limited by food supply, inadequate medical help and female mortality during child-birth[135], practically each family had to send one member on war-duty.

The Śilahāras who were the feudatories of the Rashtrakuta-Chalukyas could not have altogether exceeded the number of Imperial armies although, the Akkalkot Śilāhara laid a big claim[136]. The thirteen branches totally would camand a strength of about 2 to 3 lakhs. The Kolhapur branch may be having about one lakh and the Northern Konkan between 50,000 to 80,000 foot soldiers.

In view of the above, we may say that the 99,000 gramas[137] in the three Maharashtras were having about 30 lakhs population during the Gupta period but it rose to about 2 crores after six hundred years. Thus during the early period the population of Konkan would be anout 5 Lakhs and that of Kolhapur Kingdom of about 7 lakhs and the remaining five lakhs or so divided among the other branches. The total number ruled by the Śilāharas would not exceed

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135. J.O.I.H.Golden Jubilee Volume 1973 p.281 (Russel works out the survival rate at 43.3%
136. Ep. Ind. XXVII p.65 Dhanasangraha Stalls that he commanded 18,000 cavalry, 80,000 eminent warriors and countless foot soldiers.
137. Supra.P.27.

2 millions[138] in the 10th and the 11th centuries.

The physical conditions of the Śilāhara dominions are briefly outlined above. The changing environments and the increasing pppulation favoured the growth of new towns and cities. The changes were slow and they appeared to be abrupt when viewed in one sweep of about one thousand years from that time.

The Śilāhāras had to function within the limitations imposed by natural environment such as the mountains, the hilly tracts, the valleys and the laterite soil in the southern part of the plateau. The physical conditions were to influence their political objectives and their activities.

Before we examine the political conditions it is necessary to emphasize the relevence of the three broad physical regions[139] the Deccan plateau, the Bhimā-Krishnā Valley and the western coast; the organization of the army, navy and the guardians of peace, and the administration in general was bound to be influenced by these factors.

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138. The figures are tentative yet the available data about the state ruled by the Śilāhāras are as follows:

North-Konkan Śilāhāras:
They ruled from Lata in the North to Vijaydurga in the South an area of about 6.000 sq.miles. It was always referred to as Konkan 1400 and Navalakhi (Revenue of 9 Lakhs). The population in the port-town was more than the village. The south Konkan was referred to as Konkan 900. Similarly the population on the basis of the area and the port towns would be about one Lakh.

139. Map. No.2.

Industries, modes of transportation and communication along with the technics of war and the war material itself shape the civilization of a particular period. These are however affected by geographical conditions. The sea-coast and the mountain terrain produced a Śilāhāra style of government and society which was in many respects different from their erstwhile suzerains.

CHAPTER II

A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS BEFORE THE RISE OF THE ŚILĀHĀRAS

A general survey of the physical features of the Śilahāra dominions and the Konkan in general in the previous chapter has helped us to concentrate our attention on certain regions. The history of a region is usually influenced by the natural environments[1]. The mountain barriers, the challenges of the sea and the comforts of valleys and plains develop distinct social and cultural trends and heighten or modify ethnic peculiarities. The spirit of adventure and the free will however can surmount all barriers, physical and cultural for sometime in the case of a few people, but the general masses of the people submit to the dictates of their environment.

From the political expediency the impregnable forest barriers guarding the approaches to the rich river valleys attract the greedy eyes of the invaders, in the same manner ambitious conquerors look to the vast plains to build their empire.

The Narbada and Godavari valleys and the Krishna - Tungabhadra valleys in particular were the battle-grounds[2]

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1. Patrick Gardiner, (Ed.) Theories of History (London 1959)pp 119-120
2. Sastri, Nilakanta, K.A., A History of South India (Second Ed) p. 178. (Battle of Koppane 1053-54 AD)

for the mastery over the Deccan. The Western Coast attracted merchants and conquerors and it permanently disturbed the pattern of life.

We have to consider these factors as well as the topography of the region not as we find it to-day but as it was at the time of the Śilāhāras. A rough map[3] of the region will help to understand the political events better.

The geographical changes are rarely sudden. The process of denudation, changes in the river, courses, the silting of the river mouths, formation of estuaries and the breaches in the coastal walls, is slow but far-reaching. A period of a thousand years is not very long in terms of the history of a country but the level of technological knowledge and skill can make a span of even hundred years more significant for material progress. However the history of man does not mean merely the material progress. Any period that contains the seeds of a glorious future become at once interesting and important. The Śilāhāra times contained the seeds of the eventful history of the nation.

The Rise of the Śilāharas :

The Śilāhāras known by the different areas in their

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3. Map.

possessions as feudatories or independent rulers during the four centuries before their political eclipse, would provide us with the guidelines to understand their contributions and the political forces at work during the period.

According to the present state of our knowledge about these subordinate rulers or men of minor dynasties[4], the Śilāhāras of Akkalkot should be considered as one of the oldest units of Śilāhāra families[5]. The Śilāhāras of the Southern Konkan were considered to be the oldest unit as their political activity began in A.D. 783[6]. However after the publication of Indrarasa's Akkalkot Inscriptions in 1956, the first important step towards a fuller history of these people was taken. This inscription also led to the study of other inscriptions of South India[4] and in a short period the researchers took a further step as they gave up the idea that among the minor rulers of the South only three Śilāhāra families had acquired the dignity of local rulers - the mahamandeśvara[7]. There are about a dozen such families which await our scrutiny of their records[8].

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4. Gopal, B.R., Minor dynasties of the south India, Karnatak Vol. I, 1982.
5. Ep. Ind. Vol., XXVII, p.65
6. Bom.Gaz, Vol. I, p.4, p.537 (Old series)
7. E.I.XIX, p.180., Ind. Ant.Vol. XIV, pp.22 ff.
8. Gopal, B.R., Minor dynasties, pp.136-150.

We can definitely say that the rise of at least two units of this family or the clans came to political prominence in the latter half of the 8th century[9]. We also know definitely that at least one of them, the South Konkan Śilāhāras acknowledged their rise to the favour of the Rashtrakuta Emperor Krishna I[10]. The Akkakot Śilāhāra document refers itself to the reign of the Western Chaluka King Tribhuvanamalla-deva (Vikramaditya VI) and is dated Chalukya Vikram era 39, which corresponds to A.D 1114 Dec 25[11]. The South Śilāhāra Avasara II's Chikodi Copper-plate[12] is dated Saka Samvat 910 which corresponds to A.D. 988 October 18. The Rashtrakuta Empire was overthrown by Tailap II in A.D. 973. Yet the Śilāhāra rulers of the South gratefully acknowledged their loyality[13] even after their eventual fall. of their suzerain.

The reason may be that the rise of the Rashtrakutas and their south Śilāhāra feudatory took place at the same time. The Akkalkot Śilāhāras being close to the seat of Rashtrakuta authority[14], obviously were directly controlled whereas the South Konkan being far away from the central authority enjoyed a larger measure of autonomy and hence the show of loyalty would be more in the initial period.

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9. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII, p.65.
10. Rattarajas Kharepatan, Copper plate, dated A.D.1008 C.I.I.Vol. VI No.41-Line 24.
11. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII, p.65
12. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXXVII, pp.56f
13. Avasar II's Chikodi copper plate-C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.40, Line 11.
14. Ep.X, pp. 81ff. The discussion about the first capital-Manepura, Ellichpur or Malked is found in the First Chapter A.S.Altakar, The Rashtrakuta and their Times 1934.p.

Why should this loyalty be shown to those who were already vanquished and that when the new rulers would be offended? The reasons are not far to seek, provided we remember the special condition in that part of Konkan in the preceding centuries.

The Bhojas of Chandrapore or Chandor in Goa were semi-independent rulers settled in the southern border of Asokan Empire and were following the Emperors' instructions of morality[15]. The Sātavahanas who began ruling the Konkan region by the 2nd century B.C.[16] did not much change their status. The Traikutakas established themselves in the Konkan as feudatories of the Abhiras[17]. The Kalchuris of Mahishmati near Indore succeeded the Abhiras by 418 A.D. and by the middle of the 6th century became the rulers of Konkan[18] The Mauryas were placed in charge of Aparanta-Konkan by the Kalachuris[19]. There is no record to enlighten us on the condition of the Bhoja rulers during the 6th and 7th centuries[20]. The Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II dated 634 A.D. described that his father Kirtivarman had expelled the Mauryas by 578 A-D. and King Mangalesh uprooted them from north Konkan in the latter half of the 7th century[21]. The defeat of the Bhojas

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15. B.I.I.pt, ii. p.143
16. M.S.G.(History), pt I, p.63
17. C.II.Vol. IV, Inscription No.8 and No.9
18. V.V.Mirashi 'Satvahana ani Raschimi Kshatrapa yancha Itihas (1979) p.(46).
19. E.I.:XXXIII, pp.293-94. The exact dates however are not known. N.I.A., 4, 181; An.Bh.Or.Res., Inst.XXIII, pp. 510-13.
20. E.I.XXXIII, pp.293-94.
21. E.I.VI, pp.5ff. A.S.Alkkar however maintains that Chalukyes were ruling over a petty principality in the Bhima valley and note over a vast empire embracing the whole of the Deccan.

is however not mentioned. In the Aihola Inscription Kirtivarman is described as the 'night of destruction to the Nolas, Mauryas and Kadambas[22].

Among the rulers mentioned in the plate referred to above, only the Mauryan ruler Maharaja Anirjitvarman furnishes some information in his Bandora plate[23]. It was issued from Kumardvipa i.e. modern Cumbarjua in the Tiswadi Taluka of Goa. The record refers to a land-grant a garden and a tank which belonged to an unnamed Rashtrakuta, was gifted away to a Brahman of Hariti gotra'.

The interesting point about this grant is that a further concession was offered for reclaiming some land by clearing forest with the help of 'preshiyakula' four batches of workers and as usual the gift was exempted from all taxes[24].

While considering the political conditions on the eve of the rise of 'Śilāhāras, this aspect of the grant has to be analysed. Although the grant is not dated but it is believed to be in the 7th century A.D.[25]. The Mauryas had succeeded the Bhojas in the South-Konkan area including Goa, but as mentioned above we are unable to trace the whereabouts of the Bhoja[26] rulers of the Konkan who had

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22. E. VI, I ff.
23. Goa Gotlo part I, p.72
24. Goa Gaz. part I, p.72
25. Ibid
26. E.I.XXXIII, pp.293-94.

become hereditary rulers. Speaking about the Bhoja rulers Jayaswal states that Bhojas figure as a ruling class and they were governed by the, tribal constitution known as 'Bhauja constitution' which vested the political authority in the chosen leaders of the people[27]. Dr Gune is of the opinion that the Bhojas had a well organized administrative machinery. They wanted to promote agricultural development even when it meant clearance of forests and reclaiming of marshy lands[28]. The grant of Maurya Maharaja Anirjitvarman appears to have continued the tradition either to ingratiate themselves as new rulership with the people or merely to obtain more revenue for the government. The latter aspect would have dominated the minds of the Mauryas more as the Mauryan administration concentrated on financial matters more[29]. Further the employment of 'preshya-kula' is more or less a visti' or forced labour.

There is no source to know what the people of Revatudvipa and Kumardvipa thought about the change of administrators or the expulsion of the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas by the new rulers - Chalukyas. It might have affected some favoured classes if not the general masses of the people. We have no means to know the response of the people. It would be interesting to know whether the replacement of the age-old rulers, the Bhojas and the

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27. Jayaswal, K.P., Hindu Polity (Second edition) pp.66 & 79
28. Goa Gaz part I, p.69
29. The Kautiliya Arthasasta Part III. A study by R.P.Kangle, Chapter VII - pp.166-193.

descendants or their namesakes of the Mauryas - known for efficiency in administration, by the new comers, Chalukyas, brought about a change in the material conditions for creation of a new society.

The Chalukyas The Aihole Inscription describes Kirtivarman (whoch ascended the throne in 566-7 AD) as a " night of doom to the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadambas"[30]. The Nalas were from Nalavadi near Bellary and Karnool districts. The Mauryas were from Northern Konkan and the Kadambas were from Banavas[31]. The suppression of such powerful chiefs of traditional aristocracies would be a temporary success. Kirtivarman was helped by his brother Mangalesh who was to succeed him to the Badami throne[32] of the Cholukyas in 578 AD as the son of Kirtivarman prince Pulkesin was very young. This Mangalesh overthrew the Kalachuries of Malwa before the year 601 A.D.[33]. The Kalachuris were the overlords of Barakuchha (Broach) and the Mauryas of North Konkan.

There are in all eight copper-plate grants of Chalukyas of Badami found in the South Konkan region; seven of them at Nerur near Vengurla, Dist: Sindhudurga and one at Goa which is dated 610 A.D.[34]. This means the Mauryan King Anirijitvarmen was defeated by the Chalukyas and

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30. Ep. Ind. Vol., VI, p.Iff.
31. G.Jouveau Dubreuil, (Reprint 1979) p.102
32. Ind. Ant, Vol., XIX., p.15.
33. Ep. Ind. Vol, VI, P.297
34. J.B.B.R.A.S.X p.348; I.A.XIX.p.11.

Kirtvarman replaced him by his own feudatory Swāmirāja Chalukya who set up his headquarters at Revatidvipa. This Swāmirāja was had been victorious in eighteen battles, is mentioned in the Agra plates of Bhoja King Kapalivarman who was ruling at Chandrapur in Goa in the early part of the 6th century[35]. It can therefore be surmised that Chalukyan overlordship did not distubb the Bhoja administration at Chandramandal. However it is interesting to know that Chalukya that Emperior Pulkesin II placed Senanandaraja of Sendrakas family as the governor of Avarika vishaya near Chiplun[36].

Thus South Konkan was kept under the charge of two governors. Swamiraja however revolted against Mangalesh evidently to strengthen the position of Kalchuris but Mangulesh was quick enough to suppress the revolt and kill Swamiraja[37] as stated in the undated Nerur plate. Mangelesh, then placed Satyashraya Dhruvaraja Indravarman, as governor of four vishayas and Mandal of Revatidvipa. This Indravarman, supposed to be the son of Mangalesh, was however the cause of civil war between Mangalesh and his nephew, Prince Pulkesin and the latter emerged victorious and ascended the throne in 610 A.D. as Pulkesin II[38]. He replaced Indravarman by his own elder son Chandraditya and according to his wish the second son Vikramāditya succeeded him in 654 A.D. at the principal capital of Badami, in 642 A.D. twelve years after his death.

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35. E.I., XXXI, p.222
36. E.I., III, p.51
37. I.A., VII, p.161
38. Goa plate, JBBRAS X, p.348; I-A XIX.pp.11,12.

In the middle of the 7th Century Vatapi (Badami) the capital of the Chalukyas was captured by Narasimhavarman the Pallava King with the help of Cholas, Pandy-as and Keralas[39]. The chalukya throne was vacant for twelve years King Vikramaditya I and his son were able to stabilize the chalukyan kingdom and extend its borders both in Gujrat and the South[40] Vikramadityas younger brother Dhanasraya Jayasimha, was assigned south Gujrat 'Lata' and his descendents came to be known as Chalukyas of Gujrat[41] from 671 A.D. (Navsari plate).

The Naravana plates of Chalukya Vikramaditya II dated January 743 A.D.[42] state that Sivraja Rashtrakuta's son Govindraja had recommended the grant of the village to some Brahmanas. A.S.Altekar does not accept this Govindraja to be in any way related to the main line of Dantidurga or the ancestors of Karka II of the Antroli-Chharoli record [43]. But the relevant point is that a family of Rashtrakutas was among the ruling élite of the South Konkan during the middle of the 8th century[44] shortly the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta (Malkhed 145 km south east of Sholapur) overthrew the Badami Chalukyas[45] and the Konkan also passed under their government.

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39. S.I.I.Vol.I, p.44; Ibid Vol. XI, p.1.
40. I.A.IX, p.129; JBBRAS XVI, p.5
41. MSG, pt.I, p.221
42. B.I.S.M.J., K. X, pp.9 ff
43. A.S.Alkekar 'Rashtrakutas and their Times' 1934.pp. 14-15
44. E.I.XXIII, p.125, Teravan plate
45. I.A.X pp.162-44; Vol. XII, p.162.

Within a decade of the overthrow of the Chalukya dynasty by Rashtrakuta Dantidurg[46], the Silaharas received the favour of governing the South Konkan [47] from the latters uncle Krishna I. The territory from the Sahyadri mountain end to the sea coast (Samudratira Sahyantadesh) became the possession of the South Konkan Silāhāras. The founder of the house being Sanafulla. The territory seems to have been named as Simhaladvipa by the Silaharas just as it was known as Revatidvipa or Gowadvipa before that[48].

As mentioned before the Rashtrakuta family was already exercising political authority in the Chiplun Vishaya[49]. Although they might not have been connected with the Rashtrakutas of Manyakhetu the new rulers could have assigned South Konkan under their charge or could have extended the authority of their governor of North-Konkan, one Anirudha to South Konkan [50]. The preference shown to Sanapulla of unknown family appears surprising. The modern Goa Velha in Tiswadi Taluka 11 kms east of Panaji might have been the capital of the Silāhāra Sanafulla. It was referred to as Gomatadurga[51] by the Kolhapur Silaharas[52] in the 10th century.

We can make some observations on the political conditions prevailing in South Konkan during the 7th and

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46. I.A.X, pp-162-164
47. C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.40, Avasara II's Chikodi Inscription dated 1008AD.
48. Goa Gaz. I,p.85
49. B.I.S.M.J., K.X, pp.9 ff
50. Mirashi, Manor plates in Studies in Indology,Vol.II,p-10
51. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No 46, L.6; Also see p-101 below
52. Gandaraditya, ibid.

8th centuries keeping in view the facts as presented above.

Firstly, there are no records available which can provide us information about the activities of the Bhojas of the Chandramandal who had established themselves as traditional rulers of that area. We know this much that even the appointment of their own governor by the Chalukyas after the overthrow of the Kalchuris and Mauryas had not disturbed them[53].

Secondly the Rashtrakuta officers of Chalukyas in the Konkan Vishaya do not find any mention in the later records.

Thirdly the changes in the dynasties which held South Konkan including Goa meant only changes in the ruling elite. Whether the rulers were Satvahanas, Abhiras, Kalchuris, Chelukyas or the Rashtrakutas.

Fourthly, 'Bhoja' and 'Rashtrakuta' are terms indicating designations. They were used as family names and therefore it is difficult to know whether the authority continued in the same family or changed hands. Swamiraja Chalukya as is clear from the records[54] did not belong to the Chalukya family of Badami but his governership in Revatidvipa might have created the impression that a prince

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53. E.I. XXXIII, pp 293-94
54. E.I. XXXI, p.232.

of the Chalukya house was ruling that territory although he was merely a feudatory. It is therefore worth noting that the ruling elities like the Bhojas, Mauryas, Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and the silaharas had also to reckon with the potential rulers - the Nalas, Kadambas who were dispossesed of their domains and the neighbouring rulers the Alupas & Gangas all of them waited for their opportunities. In fact the South Konkan region and for that matter the whole of the West Coast was looked upon as the responsibility of the feudatories of the Imperial powers.

One more point which must be borne in mind about South Konkan while discussing the political conditions, is that there were certain areas considered as fit to be capitals or head-quarters during the previous two centuries before the rise of Silaharas. Chandramandal or Chandor was a very important place. It had the geographical advantage as well as the political one as it was in the interior territory but was connected with the port because of the river navigation. Subsequently we find Revatidvipa coming into prominence. This place obviously depended upon the direct approach to the coastline and at the same time enjoying safety of the hill-fort. The two other places Chiplun and Nerur indicate that the attention of the rulers was slowly extending to the hinterlands.

As already explained in Chapter I above, the South Konkan region was poor in the fertility of the soil but

was rich in the garden production. The heavy rainfall did not ensure water-supply throughout the year. The erosion of the rocks and the swift flowing streams in the Monsoon and the silting of the river mouths was changing the topography of the regions and hence their economic importance.

The struggle for gaining the Goa - South Konkan territory was very keen[55] as noted in the Nerur plates. It was not for the sake of conquest only but the temptation to augment the revenue by trade with other countries would be provided by the access to the fortified sea ports like Revatidvipa. The flourishing trade with Malbar[56] and Lanka had also changed the commodities and volume of trade[57]. The Malayan coconut and the Malabar pepper had created many opportunities[58]. The name Gopakapatnam indicates the pastoral economy of the ancient period. It was now giving place to agricultural and commercial economy. The third king of the Śilāhāra dynasty of South Konkan was proudly declaring that he bathed in the coconut - water before his coronation at Chandramandal[59] implies the inauguration of a new age, seapower and prosperity.

It was already pointed out that the Bhojas tried to change the economy from the pastoral stage to the agricultural

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55. Nerur plates I-A.VII, p.161.
56. Ibid
57. Yule's Marco Polo, II, p.325
58. Ibid. p.330 and 364.
59. Rattarajas Kharepatan Copper-plate of 1008 A.D.C.I.I. Vol.VI No.41, Verse 15.

one[60] and the circumstances at the rise of the Silaharas demanded a change from the Pastoral-agricultural to the commercial economy also as a result of reviving the old trade with the Persian Gulf[61].

The local consumers' market though conventional had received the philip from the change in the trade of garden products a new class of people were slowing emerging and the boast of Śilāhar king Aiyap that he bathed in coconut water implies the worth of the coconut inthe eyes of the communality of the realm.

There is also another aspect which must also be explained before we attempt to understand the nature of the silahara rule in this south Konkan area for about two-hundred and fifty years (C.765 to 1020 A.D.). That aspect is the emergence of new challenges, changing society and impact of the rise of Islam and the unifying force of the Rashtrakuta empire.

The land-based economy of the Mauryan administration was slowly giving way to sea-trade and commercial economy. The fishing and the seafaring communities gained in importance and the coconut plantation was going to get equal recognition as the conservative market products based on traditional agriculture[62]

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60. Goa.Gaz. Part I, p.69
61. J.R.A.S. (New Series), XI, 165.
62. D.D.Kosambi, The culture and civilization of Ancient India in Historical outline 1972 p.189. According to Kosambi" "The coconut tree was the basis of the whole coastal economy. The coconut now to be, found in every Indian economy and ritual, was rather poorly known in many parts of India before the sixth century A.D. 'his provides a useful comment upon'timeless and immutable'Indian customs" p.189.

This change in the outlook of the people was going to set new goals for the future administration. The population factor for the first time was going to receive attention of the administration. The villagers were not to be mere cultivators but they had to be soldiers also. The pressure on land and the war requirements of the 7th and 8th centuries was a pre-lude to a new feudal society.

In the chronological order the second segment of the Silahara genealogy is the Akkalkot leneage- According P.B.Desai[63]. this is the oldest unit of the Silaharas known so far. Like chikodi and Kharepatan inscriptions of the South Silaharas it is a later ruler[64] who describes the exploits of his forebears. In the latter case it is the 10th Century A.D. and the Akkalkot Inscriptions of Silahara Indrarasa is dated 1114 Dec 25 that is the 12th Century A.D. Allowance therefore has to be made for reporting the facts as they were in the 8th Century.

According to the computation of the reigns of the previous rulers and the founder of the dynasty of Akkalkot silaharas[65], Pittam I is assigned the reign from 735 A.D to 760 A.D. During this time the Reshtrakuta and Dantidurga was carrying on his 'operation-overthrow' the suzerain-Chalukya? Kirtivarman II of Badami[66]. In 757 A.D. he was encamped with

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63. Ep.Ind.Vol, XXVII p.65.
64. Avasar II (C.895-920 A.D.), Chikodi grant is dated 988 A.D. Oct. 18. Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal annual Report 1911. Ep: Ind. Vol, pp.56f.
65. Ep.Ind.Vol, XXVII p.65
66. I.A., XI, pp 111.

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his army at Bhadara-Gavittage[67] a village on the bank of Bhima in Sholapur district. Dantidurga had already captured territory from Khandesh district in the north to Kolhapur district in the South[68] and thus Pittam Silahara must have been connected with the campaign either on the side of Chalukya Kirtivarman II or the rising star Dantidurga and his uncle Krishna I. As the dynasty of Pittam continued till Indralasa the doner of the Akkalkot grant of 1114 A.D, it can be easily presumed that after the eclipse of the Chalukyas, Pittam and his descendants must have won the confidence of the Rashtrakuta overlords. It is however interesting to note that the extent of the kingdom of Pittam I given in the Akkalkot Inscription is from Kalanjara (Kalingar in Bundekhand) to Asitadri[69]. If Asitadri is Karakorum mountain then the empire of Pittam in the beginning of the 8th century was covering a very large tract of North India. No records are available of such an extensive empire of Silaharas. If on the other hand Asitadri is taken as Krishnadri (Kanheri), the empire from Kalinjar to Kavadidvipa would cut across the known kingdoms of Gujrat-Pratihara, Gujrat-Chalukya and the Chalukyas of Badami". This cannot therefore be taken as a historical fact.

The political conditions at the beginning of the 8th century in the Sholapur district and its neighbourhood can be studied better by tracing the rise of Rashtrakutas.

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67. E.I., V, pp.202ff.
68. Samanagad plates dated 754A.D. I.A.XI, pp.111 ff
69. Ep. Ind. Vol., XXVII, p.67.

The Rashtrakutas:

This family was originally from Latalura (Latur in Osmanabad). Nannaraja Rashtrakuta had distinguished himself on the battlefield and won feudatory status, for his family around the year 640 A.D.[70]. Subsequently Nannaraja was able to establish himself as a ruler of a small principality in Berar. According to Dr. A.S.Altekar, the Rashtrakutas at the time of the rise of Dantidurga had domiciled in Maharashtra and he proudly described how he had routed the Karnataka army of the Chalukya Emperor Kirtivarman II[71]. Later on however the change of Capital from Ellichpur in Maharashtra to Nanyakheta in Karnataka gradually transformed them into the Karnataka Culture and also inspired them to further conquests in the South.

Just as the Chalukyas had established the independence from the early Kadamba rulers by fortifying Vatapi and defying them, the Rashtrakutas overthrew the Chalukyas their erstwhile suzerains in 753-4 A.D.[72] both by diplomatic moves and the military manoevres[73]. Dantidurga the real founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty was the son of Indra I by a Chalukyan princess Bhavanāgā[74]. Indra Rashtrakuta had carried off the Chalukyas princess Bhavanāgā from the marriage pandal and forced her to marry him by what is known as 'Rakshasa Vivaha'. This princess was probably the daughter

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70. Yazdani, G., part I - VI, p.250
71. E.I.XXI, p.212.
72. E.I. XIV, p.125; V, p.17.
73. Ibid; I-A. XI, pp.111.
74. Alteker, A.S., Rashtrakutas and their Times', p.32.

of Mangalaras[75]. The marriage added to his prestige and he could project his image as a powerful feudal-lord of the Chalukyas and thus could overcome the Chalukyas of Gujrat and the Maitrakas of Vallabhi.

Dr. Altekar is of the opinion that Dantidurga had made a secret alliance with the Pallava ruler Nandivarman I who was not the legitimate successor of Permesvaravarman of Kanchi[76].

Krishna I, the uncle of Dantidurga finally defeated the Chaluskya Kirtivarman II in 757[77] A.D. For about four years after the showdown of Dantidurga with Kirtivarman II, the latter could hold full sway near his capital Vatapi (Badami) and in the whole of Sholapur district. It means Silahara Pittam and his son Ajja might have participated on the winning side. That was the manner in which even the minor Chalukya chieftains acted when the fight was between Rashtrakutas and the Eastern Chalukyas[78] at a later date.

The overthrow of the Chalukyas was however complete and there was no rising, either by the Chalukyas or their namesake feudatories under the Rashtrakutas such as Kattiyara, Yasovarman and Budhavarsha Chalukyas[79]. They took every precaution to see that the dethroned members of the impenal Chalukyas dynasty were not allowed any scope to find any support to rise to the position of power again.

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75. I.A., VIII, pp 11ff.
76. Altekar, A.S., Ibid pp.37-38
77. Yazdami,G.,parts I-VI p.232
78. Yewoor Inscription,I.A.Vol.VIII,pp.11ff.
79. E.I.,VI,pp.251ff; E.I.V.,pp.16ff; I.A.,XII,pp.13ff;E.I.III, pp.54ff.

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The exploits of Dantidurga would provide a key to the understanding of the 'modus operandum' of the subordinate rulers and acquisition of sovereiguty under ~~ex~~ feudal conditions in India. Dantidurga had his ancestral principality at Berar and Western Madhya Pradesh. He extended his kingdom to the east and West of his principality avoiding any direct interference in the Karnataka. He conquerred Gujrat as the rulers there had been exhausted by frequent Arab invasions[80]. He then turned towards the east and invaded Malwa ruled by Gurjara-Pratiharas and who suffered from internecive wars. Dantidurga captured Ujjain and celebrated his victory by performing 'Hiranyagarbhdāna' ritual[81]. He thus brought the whole of Madhya Pradesh and the Central and Southern Gujrat under his sphere of influence. He had already annexed Southern Gujrat. All these activities he undertook as the feudatory of Kirtivarman II, the Chalukya Suzerain.

As a cool headed conspirator he augmented his resources, enhanced his social status by the performance of religious sacrifice; mobilized his forces and strengthened his diplomatic relations with the enemies of the Chalukya ruler, such as Nandivarman I of Kanchi. He had thus reached the stage of a 'Vijigishu'[82] as defined in our ancient work,

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80. Yardam, G.I., p.255
81. Samangad plates I.A.XI pp 111ff.
82. Kam VIII,6; P.V.Kane'History of Dharmasastra'Vol.III 1946p.218 Dr.Kane however has explained the duties of the conquerors as understood by the ancient Indian works.He says"Kautilya (XII-1)declare that there are three kinds of invaders. However Kautilya (VII-16)prescribes that the conquerors should not cover the territory, wealth,sons and wives of the slain (in the battle)that he should reinstate the late king's kinsmen in their proper places(positions), that he should instal the son of the deceased on the throne of his father.." Ibid pp69-71.

Krishna I his successor suppressed the Chalukya rulers so that at least for the next hundred years or so the Chalukyas could hardly stage a come back.

The directions of Dharmaśatras or Nitiśastras were followed by the Hindu rulers as far as they did not come in the way of their ambitious march, they however ignored the commands when they felt them inconvenient. The feudal society could understand the mechanics of feudal government better than the theories propounded by the ancient sages in isolation. They followed the example of their predecessors who performed costly Aśvamedha sacrifices[83] and conviently got off the burden of loyalty to their suzerains and thus exonerated themselves from the feudal obligations.

The destruction of the imperial power under such circumstances was inherent in the system. The imperial Lords allowed their feudatories to indulge in 'Digvijaya' provided it did not interfere with their empire. The feudatories could establish their spheres of influence[84] outside the borders of the Empire, that they thought would strengthen their position as their enemies would be suppressed by their suboridinates.

Before we analyse the political conditions that brought about the fall of the Chalukyas and the consequent

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83. E.I.Vol. VI, p.1 and IX, p.100
84. Yazdani, G., pt. i-IV p.251.

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rise of their feudatory - Rashtrakuta family. We will examine the conditions in the Empire of the Chalukyas in the Deccan plateu and Northern Konkan and Gujrat low lands.

The Subordinate rulers of the Imperial Chalukyas in the Deccan were Alupas[85] of Malabar, Sendrakas[86] of Banavasi; Banas[87] of Anantapur; the Telugu[88] - Chodas of Renandu and Gangas[89] of Talakad. The Gangas were the humble feudatories yet they fought hard to preserve their independence when Rashtrakutas invaded Gangawadi.[90] The rest of them submitted to the victorious Rashtrakulas without a fight. The Pallavas of Kanchi were the permanent enemies of the Chalukyas. The battle of Pullaura which was fought between Pulkesin II and the Pallava King Mahendravarman I[91], developed into one of the most persistent lines of conflict in South Indian history. Prof. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri commenting on this conflict observes "It became almost a social law that Kingdoms centred in Karnataka and those centred in the Tamil country should not tolerate each other, but should keep up an almost perpetual war in which the rulers of the Mysore country and the Andhradesa mingled and took sides, sometimes in their own interest, at others in that of their suzerains[92].

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85. Bhandarkar, K.G., The Early history of the Dekkan 1957, p.60
86. Yazadam, C1-VI p.209
87. B.K.333 and 359 of 1920
88. Rajole inscription (Mack. HSS)
89. G.Jouveau-Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan.p.76, Talegaon Plates, E.I. XIII, pp.275 ff.
90. Yardam, G. pt. 1-VI p.209
91. G.Jouveau-Dubrenil Ibid p.62
92. Yazdani, G. I-VI p.216.

The above review of the developments in the 7th and 8th centuries in the Deccan would show that the Śilāhāra families in the Deccan did not figure anywhere in the account. The erstwhile mulers of Sholapur, Bijapur, Kolhapur, Belgaum and Kurnool districts in which the Śilāhāra chieftains were modestly exercising their political authority, according to the Inscriptions of later date, were witnessing the fall of the Chalukyas and the rise of the Rashtrakutas. They were not mentioned anywhere. The reason is that they had yet to attain the position of feudal chiefs or 'Mahamandaleśvaras' to be listed among the politically cognizable people.

The rise of Kolhapur Silaharas and the Silaharas in the districts mentioned above, was after the collapse of the Chalukyas of Badami and hence they figure in 11th & 12th centuries.

<u>The political conditions in Lāta and Aparanta' in the 7th and 8th centuries</u>:

Even a rapid survey of the political events in the Deccan after the end of the Satvahana history will reveal that the Chalukyas alone could hold their own for about two centuries (6th to 8th centuries) against their neighbours[93].

The Chalukyas ruler of Gujrat Avanijasraya Pulakesin of Lata repulsed the Arab invasion in 737-38 A.D.[94] and his

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93. Yazdani, G., Pt 1-VI p. 203 (Introductory remarks)
94. Nausari Grant A.D. 739, DKB. pp.375-6; EHD, pp.187-8.

suzeram Vikramaditya II of the Chalukyas main line rewarded him handsomely for that. The other opponents of the Chalukyas were the Pallavas. The Arabs and the Pallavas weakened the Chalukyan Empire. It is a pity that the Imperial powers in India during the 8th Century - the Chalukyas of Deccan and the Gurjar-Pratiharas of Rajastan-Malwa did not unite to expel the foreig invader. The Southern rulers - the Chalukyas and later on, the Rashtrakutas made attempts to establish their authority over other rulers just to fulfil the wish of 'Digvijaya' but they allowed the Indian frontiers to remain unguarded. From this point of view Lata or South Gujrat was in a strategic position; Gujrat was allowed to have a vice-roy but the central government did not make it their immediate concern to make the frontier impegnable.

The Kalchuris were the rulers of the north-west borders of the Deccan that is Gujrat, the Khandesh and Malwa[95] Mangalesh Chalukya made a successful raid on this territory in the beginning of the 7th Century but without any permanent benefits resulting from the Compaign[96]. It was Pulkesin II who attacked Puri of the Mauryan ruler of Konkan. A naval war took place[97]. The whole of Konkan passed under the control of the Chalukyas. The Latas,

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95. E.I. ii,21; IX, 296; vi, 294; XII 30.
96. Yazdani, G., 1-VI p.210.
97. Gadre, Important Inscriptions fromthe Baroda State, p.45; Bhandarkar, R.G., Early history of the Dekkan, p.60.

Malavas and Gurjaras submitted to the Chalukyan suzerainty, because of the danger of Harshavar-dhana's growing empire over the whole of the northIndia. Pulkeśin II successfully checked the march of Harshavardhan and Narbada because the frontier between the north and south empires. He kept a strong force onthe banks of Narbada to guard the frontiers[98].

Pulkeśin II had uprooted the traditional guard of the West-coast-the Mauryan navy at Puri or the Thanacoast and in 636 A.D. Usman-ūth-Takafi sacked Thana[99]. Again in 721 A.D. the Chalukyas had to repulse the Arab attack on Gujrat with great difficulty[100]. The West coast was thus a vulnerable point and the Chalukya rulers found very little time to strengthen the coastal guard. Another great disaster to the Sausrashtra-Gujrath, north Konkan area befell in 736-37 when Junaid, the Arab governor of Sind sent a number of expeditions to Kaccha, Kathiawar and Gujrat. Pulkeśin the Chalukya ruler of Lata (South Gujrat) had to halt the progress of the Arabs of Sind[101]. With all his might. It must be however remembered that Pulkesi could stop the progress of the Arabs for some time but the real frontier guarding rulers were the Maitrakas of Vallabhi and Gurjaras of Nandipuri[102] who were completely exhausted by the land incursions of the Arabs who enjoyed the sympathy and support of the Arab merchants on the west coast.

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98. Ibid.
99. Ethiot's India, I, 115-6 and VII, Orient congress, Proc.236.
100. Ibid and VII, orient, congress, Proc.236.
101. DKD, pp-375-6; C.I. I.III,p.137.
102. E.I.XXIII, p.154.

Pulkeśin II had established diplomatic relations[103] with the Sassanian Khusrau II of Persia but unfortunately the Sassaman dynasty came to an end because of the Arab invasion in the year in which Pulkesin II died i.e. 642 A.D.

There was no separate ruler for Aparanta as Chandraditya Prithvivallabh Maharaja the elder brother of King Vikramoditya I was given the charge of south konkan [104] but by 660 A.D. that is at the time of the Nerur grant by Vijayabhattarika (the queen of Chandraditya) he was not living [105]. Further the period between 642 to 654 A.D. was a period when the capital of Chalukyas, Badami, was occupied by Pallava King Narasimhavarman. The period of re-establishment and the consolidation was a long one[106]. The long-drawn war between the Chalukyas and Pallavas nearly came to an end by the victory of Vikramaditya II[107] at about the same time when the Arab invasion of the Lata and Gujrat was repulsed by Pulkeśi Chalukya of Gujrat line[108].

It is strange that when Chalukyas empire appeared strongest, Kirtti-varman II the hero of Kanchi war was overthrown within a period of ten years fromthe commencement of his reign in A.D. 744-5 by his own feudatory Dantadurga Rashtrakuta[109].

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103. B.G.I.pt. ii, p.352.
104. I.A., vii,163-4.Ibid., VIII,45-46; Chandraditya was a king of the Southern province R.G.Bhandarkar, East,Historn of the Dekkan p.63.
105. Ibid.
106. I.A,XI,112. It was during Vijayaditya's reign which began in 696AD that the Chalukya Empire had real stability and peace.
107. I.A, X, 164-5
108. DKD, pp-375-6
109. Samanagad plates dated 754 AD, I.A.XI,pp 111 ff.

The Arabs had done a great damage to the Saurashtra peninsula and the 'Lāta' and 'Aparanta' territory by their aggression and the power of the Maitrakas of Saurashtra, chavadas of Gujrat and the Chalukyas of Lata had been weakened. As stated in the Navasari plates of Chalukya king Avanijasraya Pulakeshi dated A.D. 738, the Arabs of Sind had suppressed the rulers of the north-west parts of Maharashtra[110] but the victorious marbh of the Arabs was checked by Avanijasraya Pulkeshi[111]. However A.S.Altekar is of the opinion that the eastern neighbours of Gujrat Chalukyas were the Rashtrakutas who might have also participated in the war-effort at the orders of Badami Chalukya king Vikramaditya II[112]. There is no evidence to the contrary.

The overthrow of the Chalukyas by Rashtrakuta Dantidurga resulted in the acquisition of the Lata and the Konkan. However there was another Rashtrakuta family ruling Lata and Malva[113] in a subordinate capacity, Karkaraja II of this family assisted Malkhed Rashtrakuta Dantidurg in the establishment of the Rashtrakuta sovereignty[114]. Krishna I the uncle and successor of Dantidurga checked the ambitious plans of his Gujrat Rashtrakutas[115] and Lata and Konkan passed under the soverignty of the Malkhed Rashtrakutas. 'Anirudha' was ruling north Konkan as a deputy

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110. C.I.I.,III, p.137; J.B.B.R.A.S.vol. XVI, p.2
111. Ibid
112. Yazdani, G. 1-VI, p.254.
113. J.B.B.R.A.S. XVI, p.105; B.G.I.pt. I, pp.121-23; MSG (History), Pt, I, 235.
114. BG.I.pt.1, p.122.
115. Ibid

of Dantidurga during early part of his reign according to the Manor plates[116]. Earlier a family of Sendrakas was ruling Gujrat from the time of Pulkesi II. They were connected matri monially with the Chalukyas[117]. The exact relations of this Anurudha either with the Sendrakas or with the chalukyas is not known.

The possession of Lata & north Konkan was not considered as very precious by the Rashtrakutas in the beginning as they were directly ruling it but by the beginning of the 9th Century emperor Govinda III gave the Charge of Lata Kingdom to his brother Indra with the title of Lateśvara mandalasya[118]. Probably at the same time he might have created a Kavadidvipa' under the charge of Kapardi of the Silahara family[119].

Lātamandala was ruled by Indra and his descendants till about A.D. 871, and after that it passed to the main Malked Rashtrakutas.[120] The Navasari inscription of Rashtrakuta king Indra Nityavarsha of AD 914 indicates that Lata was ruled by him directly with the help of his officers and through his feudatory the Śilāhāra of North Konkan[121].

The review of the political conditions prevailing in the century immediately before the rise of Śilāhāras either in the Konkan (North & South) or in the Deccan part

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116. Mirashi, Manor plates in studies in Indology Vol.II,p.10
117. Ep.graphia, Ind.Vol.III, p.51; J.B.B.R.A.5,Vol.XVI, p.228; C.I.I.Vol.IV, p.110-122.
118. I.A.XII, p.162
119. Ep.Ind., Vol. XIII, p.298. This point is discussed in chapter III below pp95-9
120. B.G.I., pt.1, p.127
121. B.G.I.,pt.1, pp.129-131; Ibid., Pt.2,p.23.

of the Chalukya empire (Akkalkot, Bijapur, Kolhapur and Karnool etc.) brings out certain features very prominently to our notice. It will be worthwhile to spell them out clearly as an undercurrent of the activities of the Silahara rulers and the developments in the subsequent period.

(1) A permanent conflict[122] between the Pallavas of Kanchi and Chalukyas of Badami whether a racial war or a national struggle marks the history of the early Chalukyas from the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the 8th century. The feudatories of the Chalukyas exploited the situation[123] such as the sendrakas and Gujrat Chalukya.

(2) Diplomacy by matrimonial alliances was the accepted pattern[124] and the neighbouring Kings fought wars end

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122. Mysore, Gaz., Vol.III part ii pp.543-44.
123. Yazdani, G. I-VI, p.219
124. (i) Rudrasana II married the daughter of chandra-Gupta II; the queen prabhavati-Gupta in about 395 A.D.
(ii) (Balgat plates Ep. Ind. Vol.IX, p.268)
(ii) The earliest Pallevas were not kings, and they were alien to south India. One of them married the daughter of one of the kings of that country and thus be king himself.
- G.J.Dubreml The Pallavas 'p.23 (Pondichery 1917).
(iii) Chalukya Pulkesin I married Durlabhadevi of the Batpura family. This family lived probably not far from Goa at Revatidvipa. (Badam Ins, Ind. Ant, Vol.III, p.305; Vol. VI p.363, Vol.X, page 58; Goa Plates J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. X; p.348).
(iv) Rashtrakuta Indra I married by 'Rakshasa' type of marriage, Chalukya princes Bhavanagar A.S. Alfekar 'Rashtrakutas and their times" p.32.
(v) Pallavaking Dantivarman married Aggajanimmate' " The daughter of the celbrated king, a crest jewel of the Kadamba family" Velurpalam plates, verse 18; S.I.I. Vol. II, P. V p.511).

made such alliences as they found convenient[125].

(3) The Arab invasion of Sind[126] and the Sind Arab governor's expeditions to Kaccha, Saurashtra, Gujrat and Lāta[127] although contained by the Chalukyas of Gujrat weakened the frontiers of the Chalukya empire. Earlier Temporary measures to patch up the damage were to prove fruitless.

(4) The relations between North-South Powers opened up many avenues for the opportunists. Samudra-Gupta was halted by the Kalingas in his Campaigns to the South[128] at the mouth of river Godavari[129] by a confederacy headed by Vishnugopa Pallava of Kanchi in the 4th century Harsha was halted in his march to the South in the Vindya terrain[130] by the combined efforts of Malvas, Latas and Gurjars led by Pulkesi II in the 7th century[131] and Gujrat Chalukyas offered stift opposition to victorious march of the Arabs at Navas-are, in the middle of the 8th century[132]. The north-west frontiers of the Deccan always remained vulnerable.

(5) The Pallavas captured the Capital of the Imperial Chalukyas and occupied ~~the~~ it for a period of twelve years from 642 to 654 A.D.[133] and exposed the weakemess of the so called sovereign power in the Deccan.

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125. Ibid.
126. Elliot & Dowson History of India Vol.I p.113 (Hindi edition 1973)
127. G.Yazdani Vol.I-VI p.227-28.
128. G.Jouvean, Dubreil, Ancient History of the Deccan. p.54.
129. Ibid.
130. Yazdani, G., Op.Cit., p.214
131. Ibid. p.215
132. Eleet.D.K.D., pp.375-6; E.H.D..pp.187-8.
133. Ibid., pp.359-61

(6) The Chalukya Empire appeared to have been sandwitched between the Arabs on the north-west and the Pallavas on the South-east. In between the two powers lay many subordimate rulers waiting for their opportunity to emulate the example of their erstwhile suzerain - the Chalukyas of Badami as the founder of this dynasty had overthrown the Kadamba Mayurvarman in 550 A.D.[134]. The Kadambas had taken the advantage of the confusion caused by the Southern expedition of Samudragupta[135] in the middle of the 4th century A.D. This tradition was continued by the feudatory of the Chalukyas - Dantidurg of the Rashtrakuta family of Latur in 753 A.D.[136].

(7) At the time of the rise of the Śilāhāras which coincided with the rise of the Rashtrakutas many suboridinate Chiefs were consolidating their position in the south such as the Sendrakas, Kalchuris, Kadambas of Vaijainti, Gangas of Gangavadi and Chedis of Avanti. The Strong powers of the Deccan during the 8th century were the Pallavas of Kanchi and the Chalukyas of Vengi. They were the rivals of the Rashtrakutas.

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134. Harivarman Kadamba was almost the contemporary of Chalukya Pulakesin I and was vanguished by him. G. Jouveau Dubreuil, Ancient History of the Deccan p.90.

135. Ibid., p.91; K.G.Sankara Iyer, in his article 'The age of Kalidasa' published in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society' Bangalore, Vol. VII July 1918.

136. In this connection Rattaraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate (C.I.I.Vol. VI No.41) Inscription verse No.2 is very elevant. It eulogises the Rashtrakuta race (Vainsa). There is a pun on the word vamsa which means a bamboo as well as a race. The Rashtrakutas are described in this verse as not arising to power after destroying (other member of the family) like an ordinary bamboo, which comes out after splitting the ground.

(8) In the first half of the 8th century the three imperial dynasties - the Pālas, the Gurjar-Pratihāras and the Rashtrakutas were struggling to establish supremacy over the others and the Parmāras of Malwā, Pallavas of Kanchi and Gangas of Gangāvādi were determined to preserve their independence. The Tajik menace was however casting an ever-increasing shadow on the nation as a whole.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGIN AND THE HOMELAND OF THE ŚILĀHĀRAS

The Śilāhāras claimed descent from Jimūtavāhana,[1] the son of Jīmūtaketu, the King of the Vidyādharas of Kanchanpuri, situated in the lofty peaks of the Himalayas.

Jīmūtavāhana had sacrificed himself to save the insignificant snake-men (Nāgas) from annihilation by the powerful king Vasuki of the eagle-men (Garudas).[2] Jīmūtavāhana offered himself as the food to the Garuda who was to get one 'Nāga' everyday as his food on the rock (Śila). Jīmūtavāhana took the place of the Naga named Śankhachuda who was to be his food that day.

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(1) Kshemendras Brahatkathā Manjiri, 4,50-108 and 9, 766-930; Somadeva's Kathasaritsāgar, 22, 16-257 and 40, 3-201.

Note:- The original story of Jimutavahana appeared in 'Brihatkatha', in the Paishachi language. The original text is not available. The two versions in Sankrit are those of Kshemendra and Somadeva; both of these poets flourished in Kashmir in the 11th Century.

The first drama based on the great sacrifice by the Vidyadhara prince was written by Emperor Sri Harsha and the title was 'Nāgānanda'. He had modified the story for poetic effect.

(2) Mahābhārat (Ed.) N.R.Phatak, Bombay 1969
In the Adiparve 1,20-44 fantastic stories about snakes, eagles and the sea are narrated. The snakes and the eagles are shown as if they are human beings.

The eagle pounced upon his prey and after feasting for a while realized his mistake and then by the favour of Goddess Gauri Jīmutavāhana was restored to life and he became the ruler of the world. As he had become the food (Āhāra) to the Garuda on the rock (Śila), his descendants came to be known as 'Śilā-Āhāra i.e. Śilāhāra. This is repeated in most of the Śilāhara inscriptions.

The'Brahatkatha' in which the story of Jīmūtavāhana is contained was written by Guṇādya who hailed from Vidarbha in Maharashtra, and his period is probably the third quarter of the first century A.D.(3) In the 'Nāgānanda' drama composed by Sri Harsha the famous Emperor, the eagle is shown as full of remorse for the wrong done by him. He wanted to throw himself into the fire but Jīmūtavāhana's father Jīmūtakétu prevented him from such a stupidity; Jīmūtavāhana was restored to life by Gauri Bhavāni by her grace(4) as the Goddess had promised it to his wife Malayavati.

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(3) Mirashi,V.V. Satvahana Ani Paschimi Kshatrap Yancha Itihas Ani Koriva Lekh Bombay 1979, pp. (175-76).

(4) Naganandanatakam Commentary by Acharya Baladev Upadhyaya Varanasi, 1968 intro. pp 25/26.

It is quite evident from the story that the Buddhist found a very worthy material for propagating the virtues of Sacrifice by popularising this story. The Śilāhāras who had come to possess some political authority under the suzerainty of the Rashtrakutas (5) wished to fly with the wind. They had already patronised the Buddhist monasteries.

A chief minister's son, Śri Visnūgupta, who was also a minister of Pulasakti, had showed the way by depositing a sizeable amount with the Buddhist Sangha for the proper maintenance of the Vihār and meeting the expenses of the monastery at Kanheri. It was obvious that the 'Nāgānanda', the Buddhist version of Gunāḍyas Brahatkatha, appealed to the sympathisers of Buddhism, especially when the down trodden were chosen to receive greater attention from the Buddhist monks.

Romila Thapar (6) observes that myth is a sort of proto-type history. It is an attempt to preserve and give significance to an important aspect of the past. The myths record what the people like to think about their past. ~~If we analyse~~ The legend about the origin of Śilāhāra as mentioned in most of their inscriptions which more or less suggest that they were Vidyādharas

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(5) Kanheri Cave inscription during the reign of Pulasakti C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.1, Line 2.

(6) Romila Thapar, Ancient Indian Social History, pp.294-95

and they directly descended from the King of Vidyadharas the 'Chakravarti Jimutavahana' who had received the great boon from Gauri Bhavani on account of the great sacrifice.

We come across the adjective 'Labdha varaprasāda' used by many Kolhapur and Akkalkot-Bijapur Śilaharas, suggesting such great favour by the female deities; Like Lakshmi, Mandakini, or Padmavati. The Kolhapur Śilāharas very often used the epithet Mahā Lakshmi Labdha Varaprasāda (7); and the Akkalkot branch used Śri Chamundikādevi Labdha Varaprasada (8); The other deities are Katyanidevi of Elamela branch and Padmāvati (10) by Basavura-140.branch. They sought the blessings of those Goddesses; 'Mandakini Varaprasa dodita' was the epithet used by Errematham branch. (11)

The Konkan Śilāhāras both of the North and the South did not use such epithets denoting blessings and favours of the Gauri Bhavani; Chamudaraj (12), the feudatory of Chhittaraj had donated an oil press to the 'Kanta Kamathika' of the Goddess Bhagavati at

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(7) e.g. Marasimhas Miraj Copper plate,
C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.43, Line 30.

(8) Indravasa of Akkalkot's Inscription
Ep. Ind. XXVII No. 15, pp. 65-71 Line 34.

(9) B. K. No. 43 of 1937-38.

(10) Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII p.70

(11) Ibid.

(12) Chinchani Copper-plate grant of Chamundaraj,
C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.12, Lines 19-20.

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Sanjan but did not describe himself as favoured by that Goddess. However it must be admitted that the Jīmūtavāhana Story had a powerful impact on the minds of the Śilāhara rulers. They tried to emulate the example of their semi-divine hero. The attempts of their famous rulers like Apparājit (13) to save the minor sub-ordinate rulers, Avasara II of South Konkan (14) to help the Chiefs of Chamulya-Chandrapore, and Vijayaditya (15) of Kolhapur helping the dispossesed chiefs, were all indicative of the same spirit. It is therefore clear that they tried to live upto the pattern set up by the Vidyadhara Chakravarti. This does not however prove that the Śilāharas descended from Jīmūtāvahana.

If we examine their claim of being the descendants of Jimutavahana. We notice one fact that they were struggling to explain the etymology of their name; Śilāhāra, which they pronounced or spelled with a number of variations such as, Śilāhāra, Śelāra (16) etc. There is also a possibility that the writers in the employment of the Śilāhara Chiefs changed the pronounciation to suit their convenience or their style and mother-tongue.

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(13) Janjira plates, C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.5, Versa 31.
(14) Rattarajas Kharepatan Copper-plate Ibid. No.41 Verse 18.
(15) Bhoja II's Kasheli Copper-plate Ibid. No.60 Verse 13.
(16) Supra intro. p. xi

Etymologies of names are misleading as the original sense is usually lost and the subsequent poet-writers exercised their imagination to make their patron big. They were all struggling under the myth that noble birth produces noble men. and heroes must be traced to high lineage.

The Silāhāras claimed royal descent. They differed from their contemporaries in one respect and that is they did not claim the descent from any ascetic, animal-human union or snake-human union, as in the case of the Chalukyas, Kadambas, Simhalas or Sindas. In the Jīmūtavāhana legend the aggressor the Garuda is not punished and the descendants of Jīmūtavāhana, that is the Silāhāras, do not say a word of condemnation; on the contrary the Garuda is praised for giving Jīmūtavāhana an opportunity to establish his fame (17) and help the snake-men. The legend casts a faint shadow of reality suggesting that the Garudas may be Śilāhāras.

The Snake-men, the eagle-men, the flying spiritual beings (Vidyādharas) should be taken as symbols. While discussing Rasātala, Nando Lal Dey has furnished the details of the Seven spheres of Rasātala. (18) In the sixth sphere, he mentions

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(17) Gandaraditya's Talele Copper-plate, C.I.I. Vol. VI No.45 Verse 1.

(18) Dey, Nando Lal, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, p. 167..

Sutala or the place where the Su tribes lived, between the upper Jaxartes and the Oxus. They were the Sarābhis or cows (Chorosmi of the Classical writers) and Suparnas or Garudas or birds (19) of the Mahabharata who lived in the Trans-Caspien District. The Garudas were Śakas but they followed the Zorostrian religion; Śilāharas may be identified with them.

The word Nāga according to Nando Lal Dey,[20] is a Corruption of Hiung-nu the ancient name for the Hūnas who believed in the serpent worship.(21) The Su or Garudas might have helped them against the imperial Parthians before their migration to Saurashtra in the 1st Century B.C.

Now it must be pointed out at the outset only, that in the Kanheri caves of the 9th Century Pulaśakti and his father Kapardi are mentioned without the family name. After all it was a carving on the rocks where such details are not usually mentioned. During the time of Harsha the story of Jīmutavāhana had the widest popularity but before that another story of great sacrifice by Buddha was current in the North-West that

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(19) Mbh, Udyog, 100, and 101.

(20) Dey, Nando Lal, Ibid.

(21) Ragozin, Vedic India p. 308.

(22) Mukherjee, B.N. Op.cit., pp. 46-47

was the story of the 'severed head'. In the Divyavadana[23] it is mentioned that Buddha in a former birth was King of Bhadrasila and he was known by the name of Chandraprabha. A Brahmin beggar demanded his head and Gautam Buddha in that supreme spirit of self-sacrifice allowed the Brahmin to cut down his head. The place where the head was severed from the body came to be known as Taksh-shila.[24] Such legends were current in the 5th century when the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hian travelled India. The word Śila thus had a special significance, secondly, Nando Lal Dey informs that the river Jaxartes was also called Śillas or Śila by Megasthenes in his work.[25] The Śakas or the Su who migrated to India thus carried with them many legends.

The second legend which tries to explain the origin of the name Śilāhāra is a half hearted attempt on the part of the composer of Chhadvaideva's Charter, confirming the grant already made by his brother.[26] In verses 17 and 18 of the inscription Vidyadhara Jīmūtavāhana is praised for the supreme sacrifice.

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(23) Mitra, R. Sanskrit Buddhist lectures of Nepal p. 310.

(24) Archaeological survey of India Vol. II, Four Reports 1862-63-64-65 by A Cunningham, p. 114.

(25) Mc Crindle's Megasthenes, Arrian, p. 35

(26) Chhadvaivadevas Prince of Wales Museum Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 4 V. 19.

In the next verse it is said that in the same manner 'Sagara' was protected by Silār from the arrows of Parśuram, the son of Jamadagni and thus his descendants acquired the name of Śilahara.

The legend of the sea being saved by Śilār hero (27) however poses many difficulties. King Chhadvaiva of North Konkan branch of the Śilāhāra family appears to be rather an unorthodox ruler in many matters. As pointed out elsewhere he had expressed in clear terms that the Rashtrakuta Emperor Govinda IV was an usurper and a man with loose morals. Chadvaideva himself set aside the legitimate ruler of his dynasty son of his brother, he had not clarified his position and we have no clue as to who composed the charter which again was granted by him on behalf of his brother. The outspoken prince voices the disapproval of the horror that was perpetrated by Jāmadagna Rāma or Parśuram. The 'Sagar' was tormented by the Shafts of the terrible Bhārgava. The Valiant hero Śeelar saved Sagar. It would not be far-fetched if we remember that the Kalachar-yakathā (28) was at the back of his mind while writing the Charter.

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(27) Chhadvaideva's Prince of Wales Museum Copper-plate, C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.4 V. 19.

(28) Brown, N. "The Story of Kalaka"
The Sakas were referred to as 'Sagarkula' and Sagar was the piked mace a weapan used by the Scythious.

He refers to Sagakula[29] to which the Śilāhāras stock ethnically belonged. B. N. Mukherjee[30] in his book 'An Agrippan Source observes 'The Kalakacharya - Kathanaka', indicates that Sagakula or Sakakula (including the area called Patalene in classical sources) was colonised by the śakas before their settlement in Saurashtra. He further explains that 'Sagakula' and 'Parasakula' are not contradictory terms. For the 'Seythian bank" might also be called the "Persian bank".[31] Ths 'sagar' tormented by Parsu may be a symbolic representation of the conflict.

Now it is a moot point whether we should presume that the Śilāhāra prince was aware of the 'Kalacharya Kathā'. It is also not probable that he wanted to stand in opposition to the awe-inspiring myth of Parśuram.

It is pertinent to point out that in one of the contemporary records, while explaining the origin of the name of river Malaya prabha, there is a reference to the washing of the blood-stained hands by Parśuram. The writer indirectly reflects the general sentiment of terror when he implies by the explanation that Parśuram's hands when he washed them in

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(29) Ibid., p. 89, V. 32.

(30) Mukherjee, B. N. Op.cit., p. 47

(31) Ibid.

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the waters of Malayaprabhā (32) could turn the whole water red. This is a poetic exxageration but at the same time shows a faint and weak repulsion at the conception of such a dreadful sight.

The composer of the Charter granted by Chhadvaideva might not have taken a clue from him, but the unorthodox King might have commanded him to eulogize the progenitor of his family even when so much was being said about the exploits of the Brahman warrior.

The question however remains how the hero could save the sea if 'sagar' is taken literally to mean the sea. The simple explanation would be that the sea was infested by the pirates and the sailors and merchants had to be protected. The 'Seelar' hero accomplished that great feat.

This does not appear to be the implication of Chhadvaideva's reference to the Parśuram or Jamadagnya legend. This is a point on which satisfactory explanation can-not be given unless we presume that the King and the writer of the Charter

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(32) The legend is referred to in explaning the origin of Aihole: List of places connected with, Bhrugu and Bhargava in the book 'Ramayashogatha' compiled by M.S. Parkhe, Pune 1975, P.P. 651-52 ff.

wanted to suggest something about 'Sagakula'. It is logical to presume that once they came across 'Sagar' in relation to the royal ancestral stock the poetic imagination flew in this direction and though the explanation may not sound rational it was at least plausible. Secondly 'Sagaris' also means a club or a mace,(33) the weapon with which the Śakas fought; Parśuram used the double edged axe 'Parśu' and the śakas the 'Sagar'. It may mean that the symbols stood for two different races.

There were many attempts to explain the word 'Śilār', but the funniest attempt was to regard these men as goat-men, 'Shela' being the goat and those men who used this animal as their totem were known as'Shelars' corrupted or corrected to Silar.(34) In the Appendix 'D' of the Gazetteer, it is explained that the original of the name seems to be the unsanskrit (Dravdian or Kolarian) Marathi 'Shel' or he-goat. The Shelar tribe are peuliar among Marathas or Marathi kunbis in refusing to eat the goat. We do not know whether our Śilāhāras refrained from eating mutton. We know for sure that their crest or totem was not a he-goat.

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(33) Archaelogical Survey of India Reports, Vol. II
A cunmngham 1862 to 65 p. 45.

(34) Bom Gaz. Vol. XIII part II Note Appendix D, p. 730.

This identification of the Śilahar tribe with Goat-men may be based on the fact that most of the Śilāhāra families ruling some parts of 'Kuntalades' between Krishna and Tungabhadra referred to their lineage as 'Khechar Vamsha (35) They might be nearer truth and frankly wanted to reveal their identity that they were dealing in 'Kachkar' (36) corrupted as khechar. This word 'Khechar' when treated as a Sanskrit word' 'Kha' that is sky and 'char' that is moving, so one that is moving in the sky. Taken in its literal sense it will mean a bird and thebird that flies highest is obviously the eagle. There is a different connotation to the word Khachar, the visible phenomenon of a flying creature is represented by a bird in the sky just as the Khachar moves on the height of the hills. There is another category of beings mentioned in the Puranas and that is the flying

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(35) Marasimha's Miraj Copper-plate C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.43 l9.

(36) Marco Polo by Sir Henry Yule, London 1903, p. 163.
Note No.6 : Wild sheep 'Kachkar' mentioned by Baber, described by Blyth in his monograph of wild sheep, under the name of OVIS Vignei. It is extensively diffused over all the ramifications of Hindu Kush, and Westward Perhaps to Persian Elburz.

angels, the Vidhādharas (37) the attendants of Gods in the heaven. Thus the word Vidyādhara is equated with Khachar. When the Śilāhāras acquired some status it was easy for Sanskrit pundits to invent things about the Vidyādharas.

The word Vidyadhara again means a learned man that is the literal and simple meaning. However the word is not very often used to indicate a learned man by calling him Vidyadhara. 'Vidya' is regarded as skill or even knowledge of sorcery and the diabolic arts. When Aparājit styled himself as 'Sahaja' Vidyadhar' he might not mean, a born pundit but wished to suggest a man to whom natural arts comes easily as that was in his blood. The contempt in which the Kadamba Court writer 'Ranna' (38) Writes about Aparājit and the Narendra plates describe Mummuni, (39) might give some clue to this prejudice.

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(37) Alberuni's India by Sachau, Vol. I. p. 97
Alberuni has given eight categories of spiritual being the Yakshas and the Vidyadharas form the lower categories which were considered as demonic. The Vidyadharas possessed powers of sorcery or magic but not of a permanent type.

(38) Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 42.
Note:- Aparajit is described by Ranna in his Gadayudha or Sahasabhimavijaya as an 'insect' on a stick both ends of which were burning.

(39) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 369.
Note:- Kadamba Sashta after Captured Kavadidivipa and other territones and imposed tribute on the barbaric inhabitants. Many people regarded that dominion now fit for the worship of Rama.

The word 'monkey' (40) occurs in the description of the exploits of Prince Vidyadhar Śaśikhanda which is very significant as it gives us the opinion of the contemporaries about the Vidyadharas, may be because of mysticism or even sorcery.

Further the Śilāhāras as the word indicates were the people in whose life Śilā or rocks must have played a very important part. They were moving in the mountains (41) that is among the rocks. This is one aspect of how they looked at themselves.

'Śilā' again reminded the poet composers about Takshasila (42), the Śilāhāras might have carried some faint ideas

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(40) In the 'mahakvya' the Navasahasankcharita of Padmagupta Parmara King 'Sindhuraja' on his way to Ratnavati meets Sasikhanda, the son of Sikhandaketu, the King of the Vidyadharas, who had been transformed into a monkey but regains his original form by the touch of Sindhurya.

(41) 'Giridurga langhan' conqueror of the mountain forts was one of the epithets of the Kolhapur Kings from Gandaraditya onwards e.g. Gandaraditya's Talele Copper-plate dated AD 1110. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.45, Line 22.

(42) Takshasila 'severed head' the place where Buddha bestowed his head in alms. Archacological survey of India Vol.II the four Reports of the years 1862-63-64-65 by A. Cunningham. p. 114, discussed above.

about that great place. The word 'Takshashila' means a rock that was hewn proportiontely and skillfully. These people had shown interest in such type of work or the direct meaning would be that these men were dealing in stones, carrying it on the backs of Khechars or smilar animals from place to place. The word 'hara' means dealer and literally Śilāhāra may mean dealer in rocks and stones. Once a poet composers got hold of this word 'Śilār' they explored the relevance to current myths till it fired their imagination. Among these the Śila (rock) Āhar (food) was one of them; Jīmutavāhana was their obvious choice.

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This is how in the middle of the 10th century one of the Śilāhāra rulers and their scribes tried to trace the origin of the ancestors of the śilāhāras. The comparison between Śilār and Jīmūtavāhana might have inspired the future writers to identify Śilār with Jimutavahana. This legend however conveys the idea that the Bhārgava - Parśuram had made the coastal region unhappy by his exploits. It was a protest in a hushed voice, as it did not find favour with the writers and composers (44) of inscriptions in the following generation either in the Konkan or the Desh areas.

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(43) The Charter is not dated Chhadvaideva was the contemparary of Rashtrakuta Emperer Krishna III hence his period is taken as 965-975 A.D. Moreover his name does not appear among the Kings of North Konkan in the subsequent records.

(44) The list of writers and the relevant charter and the reigning Kings will be found in Appendix 'A'.

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One more legend was also heard during the subsequent century. It was the story of two Vidyādharas, According to this legend, Nīla and Mahānīla who were exiled from the Himalayan regions came to Terapur. They were initiated into Jainism and they installed the image of Parśwanath in the caves.(45) This legend was indirectly echoed in the Chinchaṇi Copper-plate grant(46) of Chāmūndaraj a feudatory of Chittaraj Śilāhara ruling North Konkan during the first half of the 11th Century. He uses the terms Tribhuvananila and Ahavanila as his Birud and that of his father respectively. No Śilāhāra King of the Konkan assumed the title to indicate any connection with Nila and Mahanila referred to in the 11th Century literature namely Harisena's Brahatkatha and 'Karandau' an epic in the 'Apabhranisa' language. The Śilāhāras of Kolhapur who were inclined towards Jainism or distributed favours among the Hindu and Jaina divines equally should have utilised this legend. Similarly the Akkalkot and other minor branches should have capitalised on their association with Ter or Tagarpur in that region and should have claimed descent from Nīla and Mahānīla instead of Jimutaketu and Jīmūtavāhana. The legend was ignored by the writers of the inscriptions.

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(45) Karakandau, 5, 13.

(46) C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 12, Lines 9 and 30

So far we had concentrated on the legends and the etymology. This does not lead us to clear path as we can always argue that the Śilāhāras need not be the men from the north, the Patale, Taxila, Simhapura or Sagala. They could be men from Osmanabad (Ter or Tagarpur) and talk about all these legends to exalt their position. Now let us concentrate on the place-names to fix their location so that we may find some basis to identify them with some certainty.

The North Konkan and the Kolhapur Śilāhāras refer to themselves as the lords of Tagarpur.(47) Also the Akkalkot Śilāhāras were happy to declare that they were lords of Tagarpura.(48) The South Konkan Śilāharas described themselves as lords of Simhala,(49) the Akkalkot branch also claimed the lordship of Vijayapura; the Bijapur branch used the epithet lords of Koppen and the earliest branch of Akkalkot used the epithet lords of the territory upto Kalanjar.(50) Thus we cannot say that all the segments of the Śilāhāra lineage were originally from Tagarpura. Dr. Fleet conclusively proved that Tagarpur was Ter(51) in the Osmanabad district of Marathwada. Practically

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(47) Janjira plate of Aparajit C.I.I. Vol. VI No.5 Lines 47/48., Marasimha's Miraj Copper plate Ibid., No.43, Lines 5/6.

(48) Ep. Ind. Vol., XXVII pp. 65-71, Line 9.

(49) Rattaraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol.VI,No.41, Lines 22-23.

(50) E.P. Ind. Vol. XXVII, pp. 65-71.

(51) J.R.A.S. (1901), pp. 539f.

all scholars of the 20th Century including Dr. V.V. Mirashi accept that the original home of the Śilāhāra clan was in the South and they were some time rulers of Ter. He has also quoted relevant portion from Harisena's Brahat Kathākośa' and 'Karakandacaru' to establish that Tagor was the place which was fondly referred to by most of the Śilāhāras as their original Kingdom.(52)

Those segments who claim lordship of places other than Tagore may not be aware of the importance of Tagor which was famous from the times of Periplus. It may be pointed out that those segments which are considered to be the oldest, namely the South Konkan and Akkalkot, do not emphasise their ancestral patrimony in Tagarpura.

The Akkalkot branch would like to lay its claim to the territory between Karakoram maintain and Kalanjar (Kalinjar in Bundelkhand)(54) (Asitradri-Kalanjar) and the South Konkan branch to Simhala which is identified by Mirashi as Goa.(55) The claims of these rulers may appear fantastic, but we should not be misled by our prejudices.

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(52) Mirashi, V.V. Silahara Rajvamsacha Itihas ani Koriv Lekh into., pp. (10 & 11).

(53) The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea op.cit. p.49.

(54) Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII, p. 67, Line 11-12. "Asitādri-Kalanjar"

(55) Mirashi V.V. Silahara Rajvamsacha Itihas etc. pp. 225-26.

The Simhales tradition relates that the Nāgas or Snake-men develt in Simhala and their wars were settled by the intervention of Gautam Buddha.(56) The story of Sihabahu son of lion and the princess of Orissa is more relevant to our discussion as he reigned in Sihapura 'Lions Town' in Lāta (Gujarat).(57) According to Alberuni Ceylon or Simhala dvipa was known by that name because it appeared like a sleeping lion.(58) Thus Simhala and Simhapura have the legend of the lion-human dynasty in common. As observed by Rapson popular imagination combined the legend of Vijaya the son of Sihababu and the princess of Orissa (Kaling) invading Ceylon and the Aryans from Sihapura in Lata and Sopara(59) imposing Aryan tongue on Ceylon, into one story. The name of Simhala was thus given to places on both sides of India as in Kalinga there is also a Simhapura.(60) The same name was also given to the region between the river Nila and Jhelam. Hieun Tsang described Simhapura, in the 7th Century as 117 miles, South-east from Taxila and its clear tanks swarming with fish.(61)

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(56) The Cambridge History of India Vol. I. Ancient India (Ed) E.J.Rapson Third edition 1968 p.548.

(57) Ibid., p. 549

(58) Jamiut Tavarikh by Rashibuddin, Elliot & Dowson Vo.I. p.46 (Hindi Version) (Bharat ka Itihas Trans Dr. Mathurlal Sharma Reviewed by Gopinath Sharang Vo.I, First Edition Agra 1973)

(59) I.A. VOL. XVI, Note No.4, pp. 1ff and 49ff.

(60) The Cambridge History of India Vol. I. (Ed) E.J.Rapson p. 549.

(61) Archaeo logical Survey of India Report Vol. II, by Cunringham p. 191.

It is therefore clear from the above discussion that Simhala is not necessarily Lankā equated with Goa it could also be a place in the North. The Śilāhāra name was also pronounced and written as Siyalara in the Akkalkot inscriptions.(62)

It is therefore not difficult to connect Siyalar, Simhapur, Simhaladvipa and conceive of some connection between the two especially when Buddhist legend of Buddha intervening in Ceylon to stop the war and Buddha offering his head to a Brahmin beggar at Taxila appears to be ~~were~~ the connecting links. Thus the South Śilāharas did not mean Ceylon when they claimed the lordship of Simhala.(63) It will be consistent to say that the Vidyadhar prince Jīmūtavāhan from Kanchapuri in the Himalayan mountains was the ancester of the rulers of Simhala between river Nīla and Jhelam, than to say that he was the ancester of the rulers of Ceylon.

In the same way Tagarpur can be regarded as Tokkara.(64) As pointed out by Alexander Cunningham, the different names of

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(62) Ep. India, Volume XXVII pp 65-71.

(63) Rattaraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate.
C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.41, Lines 22/23.

(64) Mukherjee, B. N. op.cit., p 70. In Note 65 Mukherjee explains that whether the Tokkaroi and the Yuenchih are to be regarded as Scythians or not is a moot point. However there is nothing wrong in suggesting that since these peoples came from a region associated by classical scholars with the scythians, they could have been described in early sources as ~~Sy~~ Scythian even without having racial connection with them.

the classical authors describing these people are limited to two distinct hordes, the Sagaraukae and the Tokhari, who must therefore be the Su and Yuchi of the Chinese annals.[65] 65 Earlier Cunningham has stated that the inter-change of letter 't' for 'S' was well known; thus Saber became tabar, similarly Tagar and Sagar are the same.[66] Further Sagar is shortened to Ser, with the addition of a nasal (Siyar). The elision of a medial guttural is in strict accordance with the rules of the Mongolian and Eastern Turki languages, thus Sar is Lar which means Lord.[67] The Silaharas when they referred to the lordship of Tagar were actually referring to their contact with Tokkara and not Ter in Osmanabad. The local poets who composed that legend had Tagar - Osmanabad place in mind but the Śaka Śilāhāras had the North-West Tokkhara in view which lends support to the view that it was not Lankā which was considered as the home-land of these people but it was 'Simhala' and it may mean a place connected with the legend of Simhabahu and also a country under the influence of Buddhism.

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(65) Archacological Reports Vol. II, p. 44.

(66) Ibid., p. 30

(67) Ibid. p. 43

We have to think about other corroborating evidence. The Kolhapur King Gandarāditya used the title "Lankesh Tulya"(68) so also the North Konkan King Ananta-deva used the title of "Nissanka Lankeśvar"(69). During the reigns of these kings the king of Lanka (Goa) was the Chalukyan Emperor, and for some time the Kadamba King, ~~as~~ his vassal, also claimed that position. The Kolhapur King might praise the Chalukyan amperor by comparing himself with him but no North Konkan Śilāhār was ready to do that; Apararka hated the Kadamba policy and in his estimation Kadamba Jaykaśi was just insignificant. He would never compare himself to such a man. Thus the Kolhapur and North Konkan Kings had some great man in view who was their ideal man, administrator and warrior. He could be Rāvana of Lankā but not Shashta or Jaykeśi Kadamba or even Chalukyan Emperor. Had it been Rāvaṇa the epithet might have included some of his specialities like Dasānena and a great devotee of Śiva and so on, but it hinted at a well-managed state and the person who had to sacrifice his claim. It may be Kubera or it may be the great commander of Kubera, Manibhadra himself. The trend of the praise indicates that, and Lankesvara was praised for his magnanimity and for the methods of government.

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(68) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate, C.I.I. Vol., VI, No.48 verse 6.

(69) Mummuni's Dive Agar Copper-plate, Ibid., No.16, L. 4/5. Also Anantadevas Kharepatan Plate Ibid, No.19, L. 59/60.

The other noteworthy point is regarding certain manners which appealed to them. A prince is described as meditating on the feet of his father the ruling monarch. The term used was 'Padanudhyat.'(70) This is positively a foreign way especially the Iranian, where court-manners appear to be rather slavish. We may also say that with the reference to harems and romances of the princes.(71)

The poet-ministers when they wrote about their lords did not miss an opportunity to say a ward about their appearance and the physical qualities. At least a couple of Kings from each branch were singled out for such personal charm.

The South Konkan King Avasara(72) is described as 'Paramarūpavān';(73) Kolhapur Marasimha is described as

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(70) Aparajit's Janjira Copper-plate, Ibid. No.5, Line 45.

Note:-According to Devisingh Chauhan 'Padanudhyat' was a special way of the Saka-gana'. He has explained this while discussing Malhara Mundavamsiya Copper-plate B.I.M.S.Pune Qty. 1976 No. 1-4 Vol. 18, pp. 97-98.

(71) Anantapala's Kharepatan Copper-plate, C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.19, 'Anatapur' verse 18.

(72) Rattraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate, Ibid. No.41, Line 32.

(73) Marasimha's Miraj Copper-plate Ibid. No.43, Line 22.

'Marakarsarira' and Gandaraj[74] of the same dynasty as 'Rupana-rayana'. North-Konkan Aparājit[75] was praised as 'Ruchira Sunatubhas' and Mummuni[76] as 'Murti man Minaketu'. Further the celebrated beauty queen, princess Chandralekha was the daughter of one of the Śilāhāras.[77] Usually the poets regard the members of the royal family as handsome but the description of the above named Śilāhāra Kings may not be a conventional praise. It shows that the Śilāhāras on an average were better-looking. In this connection a reference may be made to the carvings and the moulds on the walls and pillars of the Amarnath temple. The moulds of the Kings especially the one on the North-West face of the temple is very much interesting. The King probably Nagarjuna is shown as sporting a beard and the crown in the Persian style. The mould of the prince probably that of Mummuni near that of Nagarjun also indicates that the Śilāhāras show that they were not local men, they were śakas.

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(74) Gandaraditya's Talele Copper plate, Ibid., No.45, L. 22.

(75) Aparajit's Janjira Copper plate, Ibid., No.5, Line 36/37.

(76) Mummuni's Thane Copper plate, Ibid., No.14, Line 33/34.

(77) Bilhana in his 'Vikramankadevacarita' canto 7, Verse 1119 has described the beauty of the Vidyadhar princess. According to Dr.V.V.Mirashi she was the daughter of Kolhapur Silahara Marasimha (Silahara Rajavamsacha Itihas etc. intro., p. 55.

One more feature which distinguishes the Śilāhāras from their contemporary rulers, are the different kinds of names of the Kings. Their contemporaries, the Parmaras, Western Chalukyas, Eastern Chalukyas, Ras-Ḥtrakuṭas, Kadambas had Śankritised names, whereas the Śilāhāras preferred to cling to their unŚankrit names. That was not because of the lack of education as they produced enlightened Kings like Aparārka. It will be interesting to note the similarity of names with the Scytho-Parthious and the Śaka Kshatrapes.

Saka-names	Silahara names
1. Azes (Variant Aya)	Vijjad Aiyap.
2. Dami (Damijada	Dhammiyal
3. Gondophares Variant (Guduvhara)	Gandaraditya
4. Jihania (Variant Jihonika^	Jhanja
5. Kadphises	Kapardi
6. Sanabares	Sanaphulla

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The Śilāhāra names were unSanskrit and had the Pali accent and they can be shown to resemble the local names but the fact remains that although the ministers of the Śilāhāras were highly educated men, they also had names which do not compare well with their counter-parts in the neighbouring Kingdome. Say for example, Kadambas of Goa.

Kadamba King & His Ministers (78) Guhala II (980-1005A)		Silahara King and his Ministers (79) Mummuni (1045 - 1053)	
Chhettam	(Chief Minister)	Bimbapān	(Chief Minister)
Govinda	Minister	Naganai	Minister
Sriyamai		Vakavain	"
Dampai		Jogelai	
Madhav		Madhadevai	
Khentapai		Bhailai	
Bhalapai		Nabhat	
Govardhana		Paivayak	

(78) Kadamba Guhalladevas Sawai-vere Copper-plate 'Selected Inscriptions from Maharashtra ed. M.G.Dixit 1947, p. 58.

(79) Mummuni's Ambernath temple Inscription, C.I.I.Vol.VI No.14

The Śilāhāras therefore belonged to the Śaka-gaṇa and they were not from Karanataka. Mummuni's Thane Copper-plate mentions Karnatak Brahman (80) among the several Karade(Karnataka) Brahmins and also Kolhapur King Nayivarma is described to have on his body impression of the Kumum paste marks of the Karnatak young girls (81) after their embrace. These two instances prove that the Śilāhāra Kings differentiated themselves from Karnataka and hence their identity was maintained. The observation that Śilāhāras were Canarese speaking people (82) mainly based on the names of the ministers is misleeding. The forms of the names may be adjusted to suit the local styles; for example, Demetrius the Greek King of Bactria was called 'Dharmamita'. (83) This will not mean that the Mitras or Maitrekas were ruling Bactria in the second century B.C. We may on the other hand treat the said ministers as masters of languages including that of the language of the Śilāhāra Kings.

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(80) Mummuni's Thane Copper-plate C.I.I.Vol. VI, VI No.14, Line 63.

(81) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate Ibid., 46 Line 8.

(82) Mirashi, V.V., Silahara Rajavamsacha Itihas etc., intro., p. 13.

(83) Tarn, W.W. The Greeks in Bactria and India Cambridge,1938, p. 178.

One more special feature that is noticed among the different branches of the Silāhāras, is that the Kolhapur and Akkalkot lines asserted that they belonged to the 'Kshatriya'(84) race and South Konkan Silāhāras emphasised the prosperity and progress(85) of their Kingdom. The North Konkan rulers did not boast about their social status, they were happy to have restored Dharma.(86) They may be emphasising different aspects of their social and political life. We can however venture to speculate that they belonged to different back-ground and also different settlements.

'Tagar' points to Tocharistan and these Tagouraioi lived with the Alexandrovski range west of Lake Issyk Kul.(87) This may be the original settlement from which they descended Southwards along 78°E latituted to Taksa-sila, Sagala, Simhapura, Sopara and Karad.(88) The other segments might have moved from Karakorum to Kalinjar and Akkalkot.(89)

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(84) Akkalkot Inscription of Indrarasa Ep. Ind. Vol XXVII, Line 9 and Kolhapur Stone-inscription of Vijayaditya C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 53, Line 3.

(85) Rattarajas Kharepatan Copper plate, C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.41, V. 12.

(86) Vikramaditya's Panhale Copper-plate, Ibid., No.23,Verse26.

(87) Tarn, W.W. op.cit., p. 516

(88) The Lion tribe settlement in Kathiawar and Sipara referred to in Note. 4 I.A.Vol.XVI, pp. 1ff and 49ff.

(89) Akkalkot Inscription Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII, Line 9, p.67.

The point to be borne in mind is that when all these Śilāhāras of Several branches or segments of the lineage, call themselves Śilāhāras what they wished to emphasise was their connection with Śilā or Takshaśilā. The legend of the Garuda Naga and the Vidyadhara Jimuta leads us to the territory of Saka-dvipa, one of the seven dvipas of the Puranic tradition. Alberuni,(90) has referred to the story of Garuda giving 'Amrita' or ambrosia to the Gods who lived on Soma mountain and freed his mother from the bondage of the snakes or Nagas. It is clear that once the Śilāhāras were known to be from Saka-dvipa the local ministers and the learned pundits serving them, exercised their imagination and the Jīmūtavāhana story was the natural choice. They waxed eloquent on all the aspects of the legend to exalt their lords.

The choice of the symbols on the flags used by the different branches of the Śilāhāra race also leads us to the same conclusion. The Kolhapur and the North Konkan Śilāhāra branches chose golden-eagle as their emblem. The South Konkan Śilāhāras did not mention their flag. The Basura-140 branch had scrpent(91) on their banner and Tradel branch, peakcock feathers.(92) The last two branches obviously were on the lower

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(90) Sachau, Alberunis India Vol. I, pp. 252-53.

(91) Ep. Ind. XXVII, p. 70

(92) Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV, pp. 22ff.

level of civilization. The Akkalkot branch does not mention the flag clearly but probably they had golden eagle as their emblem.

The struggle for higher social gradation was felt by the minor dynasties in Bijapur, Sholapur and Kurnul districts. At one place Silār 'gotra' and 'Khechara Vamsa' is claimed (93) whereas Tardal branch claimed Khackar race.(94) Rajaditya of the Erramtham branch aserted his direct descent from Jīmūtavāhana and Kolhapur Vijayaditya claimed descent from Mahākshatriya. We cannot at this stage say whether Mahākshtriya was meant to be Mahākshatrapa, that is Śaka Governor.

The Śilāhāras may not be connected with Śaka-Kshatrapas, as there is no direct evidence about it but the defeat of Western Kshatrapa Rudrasimha (95) might not have uprooted the foreign chieffains. The last notice of the Satraps refer to the year 388 A.D. and thereafter these foreign chicfains might have migrated to several places in the Deccan. The word Mahākshatriya used in Vijayadityas Kolhapur stone-inscription (96) cannot imply Mahākshatrap position.

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(93) Akkalkot Inscription Ep. Ind. XXVII p. Line 9

(94) Ibid. p. 70

(95) Smith, V.A. The Early History of India Fourth edition, p. 309.

(96) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.53, Line 3

In the absence of the coins of the Silaharas with inscriptions on them it is difficult to build up a more reliable and constructive picture of the activities of this sigle ethnic group spread over a vast tract of the Deccan.

It will be clear from the complex legends and collection of small details mostly inferential given above, that Śilāhāras belonged to a single ethnic group before they moved southwards. In the course of a few centuries they lost tract about their ancestors and their home land. It is only in the 8th Century that they emerged from nowhere and exercised political authority for a long time. There are many matters such as the identification of the important places associated with their history which should be seriously examined. The re-interpretion of these matters supported by reliable evidence and common sense would help to settle these matters. I shall try to examine Kavadi-dvipa and Balipattan among the many important places associated with the history of the Silaharas. I have already discussed the arguments about Tagor and Simhela in the preceding pages and I shall be discussing some points regarding Puri in the course of my discussion about Kavadidvipa.

KAVADIDVIPA : The Northern Konkan or Aparanta is popularly known by this name and it is maintained that this part of the Western coast came to be known after Kapardi I the founder of the house - Among the coins of the Śilāhāras, cowries are not mentioned.

SILAHARA COINS : The coins (97) of Śilāhāras found in Western India supply us some information about the extent of their rule if not about their origin. These coins are uninscribed but have been found in areas ruled by the Śilāhāras over a long period of time. The Śilāhāras of Kolhapur and Karad according to the coins found, represent two branches. The gold coins found at Kolhapur may be attributed to the Śilāhāras as the devise found on the Miraj Copper-plate of King Mārasimha is engraved on the coins. The only coin which can be definitely attributed to the Śilāhāras is that of Chhittaraja's Dramma. On the ~~obser~~ obverse of the coin is a crude head, may be of a lion, also appearing like a bearded yogi gathering the hair in a knot and surrounded by signs. (98) Rapson's conjecture is that if the signs be interpreted as words in Brahmi Script, it may mean 'Pana', of Chhittaraj. On the reverse of the coin however the word 'Chhittarajasya' is inscribed in the Devanagari script. This gives importance to

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(97) Chattopadhyaya, Brajadulal, coins and Currency system in South India, C.A.D. 225-1300, 1977, p. 49.

(98) Rapson J.R.A.S. for 1900, p. 118.

the Silahara branch of the Thana rulers.(99) In the Narendra Inscriptions, Kadamba Seshta II(100) is stated to have conquered Kavadi-dvipa. It is also stated in the Narendra stone-inscriptions(101) of 1125 and 1126 A.D. that Kadamba Jaykesi was ruling over Kavadi-dvipa. There is also a reference to Kavadi-dvipa or Kapardi-dvipa(102) while discussing the names by which North Konkan was known. This shows that Kavadi-dvipa was the popular name current during the Śilāhāra period. The North Konkan Śilāhāras after Aparājit however always referred to their Kingdom as the whole Konkan Fourteen hundred grams with Puri as leading one.(103)

Even in the Kanheri cave inscription during the period of Pulaśakti the Kingdom was referred to as Puri-Prabhruti Konkan (Konkan with Puri as chief place). It is therefore clear that the North-Konkan Śilāhāras who were referred to as rulers of Thane(104) did not call their Kingdom as Kavadi-dvipa. If as the scholars maintain, the land was called Kavadi-dvipa after the founder of the Śilāhāra Kapardi I, then his

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(99) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 298.
(100) Ibid., p. 369.
(101) Ibid., p. 298 and 316.
(102) E.I.Vol. XXIII, p. 316 and 323.
(103) Puri Pramukh Chaturdasagrama satisamanvita samagra Konkan. Arikesari's Thane inscription C.I.I. Vol.VI Verse 19.
(104) Ind. Cult., Vol. II, pp. 407-408.

descendants would have been proud to refer to their Kingdom as 'Kavadi-dvipa'. The South Konkan Silāhāras did not hesitate to style themselves as 'Simhalaxmabrutam Varah' if by that they wished to suggest that they were lords of Simhala, dvipa. However for them Simhala was some other place which is already explained.

Secondly we do not know of any other instance when the Rashtrakutas had named any province or district after the name of any feudatory and not a city bears the name of the founder of the Rashtrakuta dynasty, Dantidurga in the Deccan. In that case how is that Dantidurga, Krishna or his descendants name such a prosperious country after an unknown feudatory whose name was Kapardi ? This land was already having the legend of Parśuram and it is not probable that Rashtrakuta Govinda III would allow it to be known by the name of one of his military officer and a feudatory. The possibility is that there was a tradition to call this part of Konkan as 'Kavadidvipa' and it must be by the sailors and merchants who visited the ports, As Alberumi (105) had pointed out that Ceylon or Simhala was called by the name Simhala-dvipa as it appeared like a sleeping lion to the sailors. Similary the territory in which Thana, and

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(105) Elliot & Dowson Vol. I, p. 46 (Hindi version)

Sopara are situated including Gharapuri, the minor islands and the ancient islands of Bombay, might have appeared as a 'Cowrie' or a shell from a distance in the sea to the sailors, visiting from other countries. Moreover the real trade in cowries from Bengal was also from the ports in the Lâta and Aparânta. Thus 'Kavadi-dvipa' was the name given to this land.

The popular name of Cowrie has been derived from the Persian word Khurmohra,(106) that is an ass or mule trappings, which are ornamented with strings of these shells. Chau-Ju-Kua,(107) an Eleventh Century writer makes a general statement that the people of India use cowries as a medium of exchange. It is therefore obvious that merchants should have named this as Kavadi-dvipa and later on some loyal feudatory or a poet minister might have exploited this to enhance the prestige of his Śilâhara Lord and call it 'Kapardi-dvipa'.

Regarding Purikonkan, it was a well-known island and its inclusion in the possession of the King added to the dignity. Moreover it was always regarded as a safe place

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(106) Elliot, Walter, Numismata Orientala - Coins of Southern India, 1970, p. 59.

(107) Gopal, Lallanji, The economic life of Northern India, p. 214.

when the land forces of any enemy of the Silāhāras routed their armies, King Aparajit had to flee from the sheres (108) and seek asylum at Puri. Also the last King of North Konkan Somesvara (109) tried to escape from the shore to Puri but was drowned before he could make the distance. Puri therefore was a famous island commending approach to the Bombay islands on the West and the Kolaba Coast to the East. (110)

BALIPATAN : Another important place about which the scholars go on debating, is about Balipatan. Barnett had considered it is Balipattan in Chitrakal taluka of Malabar? (111) Dr. V.V. Mirashi (112) identifies it with Kharepatan in Ratnagiri District (now Sindhudurg District). (113) Prof. T.S. Shejwalkar also believes that Balipatan is Kharepatan. Both Mirashi and Shejwalkar try to establish their point on the basis that the villages mentioned in Rattarajas Kharepatan Charter exist in the

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(108) Ind. Ant. Vol. XL, p. 42

(109) Hemadri, Chaturvargacintamani V. 18.

(110) Map-Appendix 'A'.

(111) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, P. 32.

(112) Mirashi, V.V. Silahara Rajavamsacha Itihas etc. intro. p. 6.

(113) Shejwalkar, T.S., selected essays compeled by H.V.Hole Pune, 1977, p. 205.

neighbourhood of modern Kharepatan. Dr. Mirashi rejects Barnelt's view as he argues that South Konkan Śilāhāras did not rule Malabar and so there is no possibility of Balipatan in Malabar to the Capital city of South Konkan Silaharas.

These Scholars however do not explain why Balipatan named after Baladeva[114] should be changed to Khare (Salty) pattan in a region which is traditionally religious. If the proximity of villages named in the charter is the test for identification of the capital city of Balipatan then the names mentioned by Prof. Shejwalkar also are found in the neighbourhood of Chandrapur in Goa. Prof. Shejwalkar mentions Kushmandi[115] as modern Kumbhavade and Asunvire[116] as modern Anasure. These names are also found to be the names of villages in Chandravadi Mahal. They are Kusaman (Kushmandi) and Asolde (Asanvir). Manigram[117] of the inscription is Manche of Shejwalkar's article, whereas there is Mayin in Balli Mahal of Goa. The names of the Goa villages are contained

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(114) Brahatsamluta, 14, 16.

(115) Rattarajas Kharepatan Copper-plate, C.I.I.Vol. VI No.4, Line 44 (Kushmandi)

(116) Ibid., Line 46 (Asanvir)

(117) Ibid., Line 44 (Manigram)

in the article by Dr. P.P.Shirodkar (118) Director of Archives, Archacology and Museum Goa. Further the two ministers of Anantadeva I of North Konkan were the residents of Balipatan, who were big merchants and had received relief in custom duty on his shipment of goods. This charter is dated 1094 A.D. that is about 70 years after the end of South Konkan Śilāhara rule in Goa. It is therefore possible that these merchants who were brothers belonged to the family of traditional ministers and civil servants of the Shenvi community of Goa migrated to Thana to offer their administrative talents to a very ambitious ruler like Anantadeva. (119) We may therefore give up the idea of Balipatan being Kharepatan and identify Balipatan with some place in Goa near the Śilāhara's old capital of Chandrapure. It will lead us to a place now called Balli in Quepem Taluka of Goa which answers to all the requirements both for becoming a capital city and a safe fortified place not far away from the sea which was selected by Dhamiyas as (120) pratapavan Mahādurga Balipattan.

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(118) Shirodkar, Prakashchandra, P., Gomanta Katil grama va Sthalename: Ek. Chintan, Maharathi Magazine Divali special issue, 1982 pp. 17-22.

(119) Anantadeva's Kharepatan Copper plate, C.I.I. Vol.VI, No.19, Lines 75 - 81.

(120) C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 41, Lines 24-25.

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In summing up we may say that Śilāhāras represented a struggle of a lesser people for a higher objective. They wished to pose as Saviours, 'Soter',(121) and their success was illusory but their failure broke a new ground for struggling humanity, spot-lighting the dangerous areas in the path of progress of those who wished to rise from a near tribal state to a full-fledged nationhood.

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(121) Tarn., w.w. op. cit. p. 175.

CHAPTER IV

DYNASTICS OF THE ŚILĀHĀRAS

We can now briefly summarise the important political events concerning the different segments of this lineage and those in which they were concerned directly during the five hundred years from 750 A.D. to 1250 A.D. It would no doubt appear, that we are looking at the contemporary events through the eyes of the Śilāhāras, rather than looking at the Śilāhāras at this distance of time, because of the lack of sufficient source material. They were minor rulers and their rule was not continuous[1]. They continued to occupy same regions but the degree of their political authority underwent vicissitudes of fortunes. This was a result of either their suzerains becoming more powerful or their decline and disappearance from the political scene altogether.

The fluid political situation during this formative period of history of the Deccan affected the minor rulers and the common people[2] more intensely than can be imagined now when political ideas such as self-determination of people has become a matter of right. The common people had to live with war and think of their daily hard life more than rights

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1. The rise of the different lines has been indicated in the genealogies below. A break in their independent rulership was suffered by the Konkan branches in the beginning of the eleventh century discussed in the following pages during the reigns of Chhitaraj and Rattaraja of the two Konkan houses. Second break was from Anantadeva's Kharepatan copper-plate dated 1094 A.D. to Aparaditya I.S.Vadavali plate dated 1127AD.
2. Burning of Anśungar by the triumphant armies of the Kadambas and the tribute collected by the Chalukyas of Gujrat Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p.42.

of individuals.

The Common man in the medieval age -

The common man in the Konkan, Kolhapur, Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Sholapur, Koppal and other places where the Silaharas had some degree of political authority was drawn into the main stream of political life. He could not be indifferent to the changing situations. In fact he was the centre of all these activities, although he had no voice in the matter. The local authorities were keeping a strict watch over his activities and the political climate of war and conquest, victory and defeat, made him aware that in any case he had to keep awake[3]. The kings were out to initiate the wives of the soldiers into widowhood[4] and the death on the battle-field was not the end of the conflict. His family did not know what was in store for them.

Nothing depended on his wishes but he had to dance to the tune of the officers of the king. The local rulers - the petty chiefs being close to the people and directly controlling them, were the objects of fear.

The common man from these small kingdoms was therefore always better informed of the political conditions even without mass media of newspapers and radios and the like.

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3. Anantadeva I Kharepatan Inscription C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.19 verse. The calamities that befell the people on account of the internal feuds has been vividly described in verse 19.Also in Aparaditya's Vadavali Inscription Ibid No.20 verse 20 describes how the Muslim Arabs devastated the life of the people.
4. Nagarjuna's Thane copper-plate Ibid No.13 verse 18.The tears of the widows of the enemies world water the plant that would rise to heaven; Vijayaditya's Kolhapur Stone Ins.IInd No.53 Line 6/7.

South Konkan Śilāhāras -

The inscription of the Akkalkot Śilāhāras Indrarasa[5] has enabled us to assign an earlier date for our narration of the history of the Śilāhāras. According to P.B. Desai[6] the first ruler of the Akkalkot Branch of the Silahara clan flourished around the year 735 A.D. Hetherto the South Konkan family was considered to be the earliest one as Sanaphulla of the south Konkan began his political career around the year 783 A.D.[7]. However the Akkalkot family is at a disadvantage. Akkalkot ruler Indrarasa issued his grant on Dec. 25, 1114 A.D. Whereas the first known Inscription of the North Konkan Silahara ruler is dated 843.-44 A.D.[8] and that of South Konkan ruler is dated October 18, 988 A.D.[9] The Kolhapur Śilāhāra began to rule from Dec.24, 1058 A.D.[10] and thus s come into the picture much later. The Kanheri caves Inscriptions relate to the period 843 A.D. to 878 A.D. They were engraved by the Buddhist devotees and were not issued by the Śilāhāra Kings of North Konkan. The first copper-plate grant of North Konkan is that of Chhadvaideva which is not dated but can be placed in the middle of the 9th century. The South Konkan Śilāhāra Avasara II issued his grant on Oct.18, 988 A.D. and it relates to the events of the 8th century A.D. hence the South Konkan Śilāhāras will get a precedence over others in our account and the Akkalkot and the other minor branches will be treated last.

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5. Ep.Ind., Vol.XXVII, p.65
6. Ibid.
7. Bomgaz.Vol.I, part ii p.537
8. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.1 (Kanheri Cave Iscription during Pulasakti's time)
9. Ibid No.40
10. Ibid No.43

South Konkan

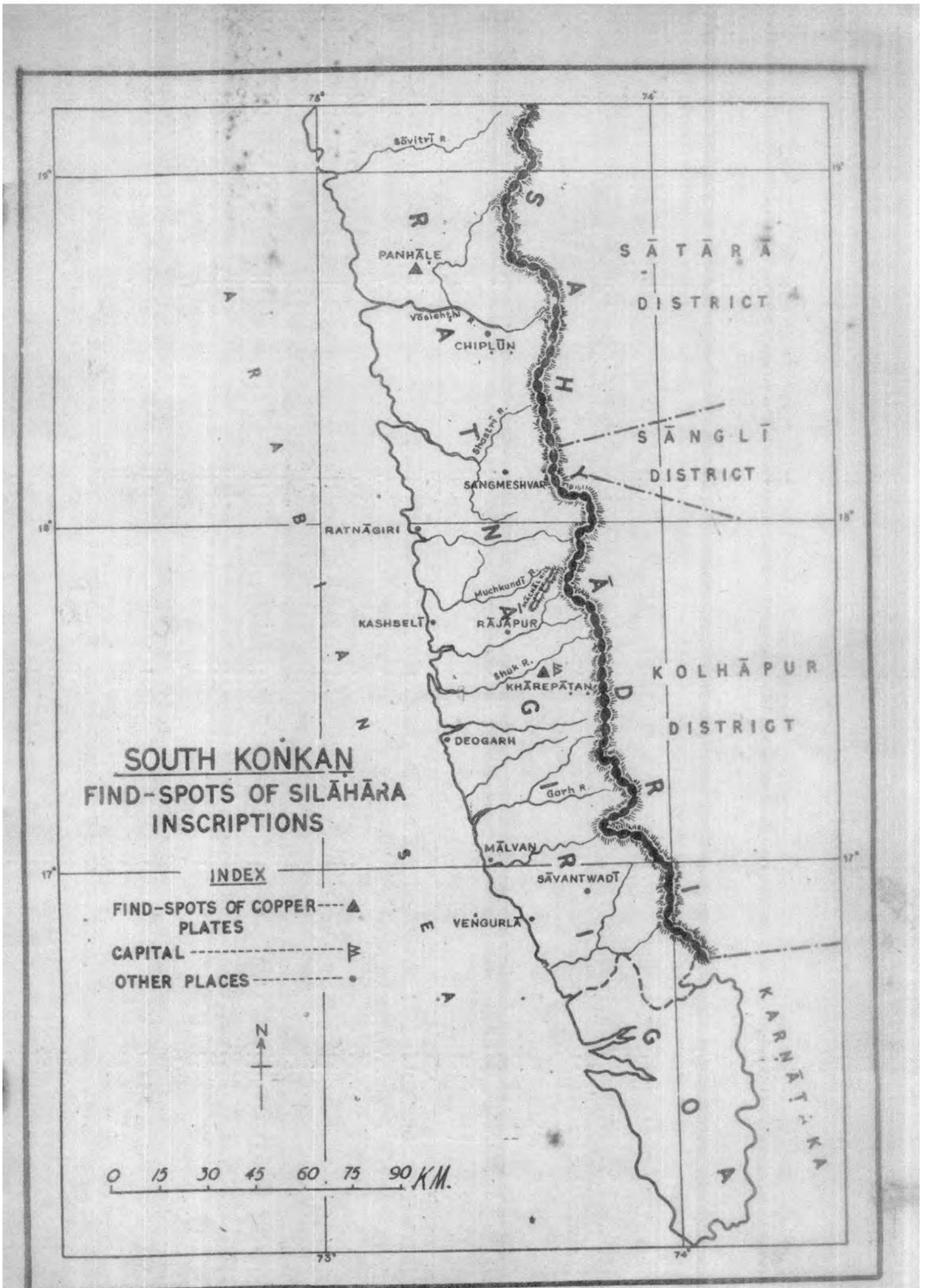
South Konkan Śilāhāra grants are only three in number. These inscriptions however throw much light on social and political conditions. The composers of the inscriptions do not miss any opportunity to magnify the smallest success and gloss over the unpleasant defeats. The writer of the first grant was poet Deva Pal a minister under the King Avasara and the other two charters were composed by his son Lokaparya during Rattaraja's reign.

The three copper-plates bear the seal containing the image of the mythical 'Garuda' in human form with hands brought together close to the chest and held in an'anjali' pose and seated on his haunches"[11].

The Chikodi or Pattankudi copper-plate[12] opens the invocatory verse with the word 'Sarvadnya' (all-knowing) Dr. V.V.Mirashi[13] translates this as God Siva. He feels that the Buddha and the Arhat are not intended. The copper-plate grant was clearly for the material benefit to the merchants and there was hardly any scope for religions platitudes yet the minister poet DevaPala shows his preference to Jainism as he writes: 'May righteous observances flourish'[14] and 'Balinagare Vardhamāné Samané[15]. In Balinagara which is comparable to the city of Vardhaman or modern Burdwan.

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11. Ep.Ind., Vol., XXXVII p.56; Ep.Ind.,Vol.III,pp29ef.
12. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.40
13. Ibid p.178 14. Ibid Verse 1 15. Ibid.Line 30



Showing find-spots of Śilāhāra Inscriptions in South Koṅkaṇ

The words Jivaloka[16] (livlihood), Panchmalhasthan - mathika-trayi[17] (the monasteries) also suggest Jainism. The preference to the terms as mentioned above confirm his religions faith. It conveys the idea of the presence of monasteries.

Dr.Mirashi has translated the words 'Vardha mané Samané' as 'like Yudhisthira[18] whereas the merchants who regard themselves as the followers of the Yakshas-Kubéra and Manibhadra[19] would obviously prefer a reference to the prosperous city of Vardhaman[20].

The change in the invocatory verse[21] composed by his son Lokaparya in Rattaraja's Kharepatan grant indicates a radical change. Here the influence of the Paśupatas is quite clear. The third grant refers to the desired deity[22]. This indicates a moderation or even toleration of different sects or strictly the bureaucratic method of following the routine.

A noteworthy feature of the grants is that in the first two grants the genealogy of the esstwhile suzerains, the Rashtrakutas, is mentioned notwithstanding that by 973 A.D. they were overthrown by the Chalukyas. Paying homage to the Vanguished suzerains[23] even when it meant wounding the feelings of the new masters shows the firm belief in their political stability. The last inscription of Rattaraja does not make even a customary salutation to the Chalukyas and he simply assumes the title of Sri Rattaryaraj[24].

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16. Ibid Line 36
17. Ibid. Line 40.
18. Ibid p.183
19. Mahabharat Vanaparva 64 -129-30.
20. Jain Agama Vivagasuyum. ed. Dr.P.L.Vaidya, Pune, 1935, p.72
21. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.41, Verse 1.
22. Ibid No.42 Abhimatadevata L/1-2
23. Ibid Verse 6
24. Ibid Line 33 and 42-43.

The records mentioned above pertaining to the period between 988 A.D. and 1010 A.D. show us the changing moods and the fortunes of the Śilāhara mahamandaleśvaras' or subordinate rulers of South Konkan. They also indicate their attitudes towards their suzerains and give us a glimpse of the religious beliefs of the aristocracy, if not the common people. The lingering influence of Jainism and the swing towards Pāśūpat sect and a similar rebellious attitude in the political field that is from subordination to full independence mark the transition in that part of the Chalukya Empire in the beginning of the 11th century.

Chalukya emperor Satyàśraya was busy fighting a war with their sworn enemies the Cholas, in the year 1006 A.D. The Cholas were supported by the Eastern Chalukyas and their combined forces defeated Satyàśraya's army and plundered the entire country, slaughtering women, children and brahmins"[25]. Satsyāśrayas' successor Vikramāditya V ruled for a short period and the brother of Satyāśraya Jayasimha II came to the throne in 1015 A.D. He had to fight on many fronts. The Paramara King Bhoja rose to power during this period. He inveded Lata [26] and a part of Konkan[27] to avenge the defeat and disgrace of Munja, his uncle at the hands of Tailapa II coccupied these territories for some time.

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25. Sastri Nilakant K.A., A History of South India,p.174.
26. I.A.Vol.XII, pp 201-3
27. E.I.Vol.XI,pp.181-83; E.I.Vol.XVIII,pp.320-25.

Sanaphulla (C-765 - 785 A.D.)

In the Pattankudi[28] or Chikodi[29] plates of Avasara II the genealogical list begins with Dhamiyar and not with Sanaphulla[30]. The writer Devapala mentioned the name of Ammela which is not found in the other two plates[31].

In the Kharepatan plates[32] Sanaphufla is mentioned as the lord of the region from the sea coast to the end of the Sahyadri mountain, by the favour of Krishnaraj. Sonaphulla is also stated to have been born in the family of Jīmūtavāhana who was the soverign ruler of the kings of Simhala. He is also described to be very fortunate and prosperous because of the blessings of 'abudant beings'. Here Krishnaraj is Krishna I of the Rashtrakuta dynasty., although there were two more kings or that dynasty bearing the name of Krishna. They belonged to 9th and 10th centuries respectively[33] and therefore do not figure in the account of Sanaphulla. Krishna I was the first great king of the Rashtrakuta dynasty which was founded by his nephew Dantidurga.

Sanaphulla is stated to belong to the illustrious family of the rulers of Simhala. The point regarding the identification of Simhala has already been discussed in the foregoing chapter.

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28. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.40
29. Annual Report of the Bharat a Itihas samsodhak Mandal.Poona Saka 1833 pp.43 of plates known as Chikodi plates.
30. Mirashi, V.V.has tried to reconcile the genealogical test as: Sonaphulla his son Dhamiyar his grandosn Aiyapa, his son Avasara I, his son Adityavarma followed by Avasara II, Indra Bhima, Avasara III & Rattaraja, C.I.I.Vo,.VI, p.186
31. Ibid Nos.41 & 42
32. Ibid No.41 Line 22/23
33. Krishna II (880-914); Krishna III(939-966) as shown in Altekar, A.S.Rashtrakutas p.45.

The genealogy of the South Konkan is given below as can be drawn up from the three inscription of this dynasty available so far -

South Konkan dynasty (765-1024 A.D.)

Sanaphulla (C.A.D.765-785)
:
Dhammiyar (C.AD 785-820)
:
Aiyapraj (C.A.D.820 - 845)
:
Avasara I (C.A.D. 845-870)
:
Adityavarama (C.A.D.870-895)
:
Avasara II (C.A.D. 895-920)
:
Indraraj (C.A.D. 920-945)
:
Bhima (C.A.D. 945-970)
:
Avasara III(C.A.D. 970-995) known years 988
:
Rattaraj (C.A.D. 995-1024) known years 1008 & 1010.
:

Note

The difference between the lists contained in the Pattankudi or Chikodi plates and the Kharepatan plates is reconciled by Dr. V.V.Mirashi. A reference may be made to the discussion of this point C.I.I.Vol. VI, pp.185-186.

As already explained [34], the region between the river Nila and the river Jhelam where Simhapura is situated might have been thickly populated. Even if we ignore the customary praise for the founder of the dynasty the fact remains, that Sanaphulla came in possession of a vast territory. As already pointed out[35] it was significant that hetherto unknown warrior was given preference over the others by the Rashtrakuta Krishna I who finally overthrew Badami Chalukya Kirtivarman II and the Eastern Chalukya Vishnuvardhan IV[36].

According to the Kharepatan inscription of 1008 A.D. and the Balipattan inscription of 1010 A.D.[37] Sanaphulla appeared to have been in possession of the whole of Konkan coast and he styled himself as King (nripa). There is no reference to his capital but according to Dr. Mirashi, it was Chandrapura[38], modern Chandor on the left bank of the Paronda river, South Goa.

This would enable us to reconcile the ambiguity about the extent of Sanaphulla's dominion. It was not the whole of the Konkan Coast that he ruled, but he was associated with the conquest of the coastal region and the Sahyandri border and thus Sanaphulla could boast of good many things.

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34. Chapter III origin and the house.
35. Chapter II political conditions.
36. Altekar, A.S.Reshtrakutas etc. pp.44-45.
37. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.4113 and No.42 V.4
38. Ibid intro., p.xxii; B.R.
    Note: B.R.Gopal does not accept this as he feels Kharepatan plate came to be revised duringthe period of Rattasaja. 'Minor Dystes' etc. op cit p.146 Gopal however does not furnish any documentary evidence for his surmises.

Further, during the indifferent rule of Govinda II (775-780) and Dhruva's usurpation[39] all the feudatories of the Rashtrakuta, including Sanaphulla must have made some additions to their kingdoms and strengthened their position in the fluid political conditions.

Dhammiyār (785-820) - The account of the composers of the two inscriptions differ in their description[40] of the great city which was beautified or built by the son of Sanaphulla. This shows that Dharma was not merely a soldier or a tribal chief but he wanted to appear before his people as a builder and a builder of a strong fortfied capital. We find that these Silaharas had a great fascination for mountains and forts[41].

It was during the reign of Dhemmiyar that Silahara of Kavadidvipa received the favour of Emperor Amoghavarsha I[42] and Pulaskti Silahara was given the title of mahādhipa[43]. Howevēr Gujrat and Konkan continued to be under the political control of Gujrat Rashtrakuta branch founded by Indra, brother of Govinda III in 800 A.D. This branch continued to govern the territory right upto 888 A.D.[44].

The hectic campaigns of the Rashtrakuta Emperors Dhruva and his son Govinda III in the Deccan as well as in the north provided opportunities to the subordinate chiefs.

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39. Altekar, op. cit pp. 51-52.
40. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.40 Line 17; No.41 Line 25; No.42 L13
41. Kolhapur Silāhāras fondly referred to Padmanaladurga, Ibid 46 Line 31 and Akkalkot Silāhāra to Asitedri E.P.Ind.Vol. XXVII pp.65-66.
42. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.1 Line 1.
43. Ibid Line 2
44. Altekar, A.S.Rashtrakutas etc. pp.78-79.

to stabilise their positions. Dhammiyar did not join the confederacy formed against Dharuva[45] he preferred to concentrate on his small kingdom and build a capital.

Aiyaparàj (820 - 845). In the Kharepatan copper-plate grant[46] he is described as having bathed with coconut water. This may mean that at his coronation he used coconut-water for his ceramonious bath before ascending the throne. Dr. Mirashi interpretes this as Aiyapraj was coronated with the water of the coconuts grown near Chandrapur[47] whereas earlier he mentioned Chandrapur as the capital of the Silaharas[48]. This inconsistency has to be reconciled.

Even if we accept that Chandrapura was the capital of the Silaharas during the period of Sanaphulla which was later on shifted to Balipattan by Dhammiyãr, Aiyap the third ruler of the line might not have abandoned it altogether. Dhammiyar was followed by Ammalla[49]. Mirashi presumes that Ammalla might have died before his father Dhammiyar[50]. It can also be argued that Ammalla might be governing the Chandrapura area as the deputy of his father and died there a few months after Dhammiyar and therefore his son Aiyapa was coronated at Chandrapura itself with coconut water for purification or some such ceremony.

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45. Ibid p.51
46. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.41 V.15
47. Ibid p.191
48. Ibid Intro.p.xxii
49. Chikodi plates C.I.I.Vol. VI No.40 V.10
50. Ibid. p.186.

There was no propriety of bringing conconuts growing near Chandrapur to the Capital town of Balpattan[51] which was close by for the coronation ceremony. The coconuts of Chandrapura were as good as those grown in Belipattan.

Avasara I (845 - 870) The confusion in the list of names of the dynasty is explained by Mirashi saying that Avasara had been omitted inadevertently[52]. In the Kharepatan and Balpattan Inscriptions sanaphulla is mentioned as the founder and Avasara is described as adept in political affairs and urisprudence and also a valiant king. He burnt the multitude of his enemeis by his sole eye (Ek netrapralagnari). The poet-composer of the grant wanted to convey the idea that like Siva opening his third tye, Avasara destroyed his enemies. The omission of the names of the two Kings by Deva-pal many be because of his lack of interest in military exploits and concentration on peace and peaceful pursuits only[53].

Adityavarman (870-895) - The most important event during this period was that Rastrakuta Emperor allowed the Arabs and Persians to settle on the West-coast . Another event was the end of the Gujrat Rashtrakuta branch . Deva Pal describes

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51. Discussion of the identify of Balpattan in Chapter III
52. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.41 discussion of the genealogy.pp.185-86.
53. Deva Pala in the Chikodi Inscription (No.40) praises the establishment of a new capital city but he does not mention Aiyaprajas Coronation under special circumstances. He avoided mentioning brave deeds; he famely states that Ammalla was without enemies and Bhima possessed royal qualities. The lack lustre minister had an attitude of a Jain Kascetic.

him as lover of his subjects or it may be interpreted that he was loved by his subjects.

Avasara II (895-920) - He is described as a conqueror and also a pious man. The important event during his reign and that claimed as his achievement, is the help he rendered to chieftains of chemulya and Chandrapura. The nature of the help is not known but it is not probable that Avasara would extend military help to the chieftains of the neighbouring provinces to establish their military authority and create rivals and possible enemies. Chamulya and Chandrapura were important trading centres and thus the only possibility was that of helping some merchants. Arabs and the natives, with a view to expanding trade. Chamulya was a port-town of international trade and many Muslims lived there[56]. It is thus possible that Avasara might have cultivated diplomatic and commercial relations with some such chieftains. Al Masudi[57] referred to Śilāhāra Jhanjha King of North Konkan as the King of Sindabur (Chaul) at that time. It was probably this king, whom he might have helped.

Indraraja (920-945) - During this period we find the last flicker of the Rastrakuta rulers to improve their authority over the whole of the Deccan. Krishna III

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56. Al Masudi, II, 85, Moraes op.cit p.172

57. Elliot & Dowson Vol.I pp. 21-22.

suppessed his enemy and erected the victory pillar at Rameśvara[58]. It was during this period that the Kolhapur Silaharas came into the lime-light under Śilāhāra Jatiga I. Indraraj appears to be a merry monarch (Tyāgabhôgātisūnderah)[59]. He might have left behind loving memories in the minds of men living in the coastal areas. The folk-song in Marathi "Konkancha raja Jimma Khelato" might be referring to this king only[60]. The irresolute manner in which the affairs of the state were being conducted during the liberal and prosperous reign of Rashtrakuta Indra, favoured fissiparious tendencies. The disputes about succession[61] between Amoghavasha III and Govinda IV in the Imperial Rashtrakuta dynash favoured the local chiefs. It seems this was the period of moral decay brought about by the spread of Tantrism and Sahajvād[62], Rastrakuta Emperior Govind IV was involved in sex-scandals[63].

Bhīma (945-970) - He tried to arrest the dissolution of his kingdom which started under the inefficient rule of his predecessor. He was keenly watching the activities of the Chalukyas in Banavāsi. The Kadamba chieftain Kantakāchārya or Śashta I was struggling to become mahamendaleśvara at Chandrapura and was probably hostile to his Rashtrakuta suzerain, Bhima acted quickly and firmly. He captured

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58. Altekar, op.cit p.118
59. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.41 V.18
60. Shejwalkar, T.S., 'Selected articles' Compiled by H.V.Mote 1972 (Article The background of the history of Konkan)p.196
61. Altekar, Ebid, pp.106-109.
62. Chhadvaideva's Prince of Wales Museum grand, C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.4-V.10; Ibid No.41 V.4
63. Ibid No.46 V.4 (Gandaraditya's grant dated 1115 A.D.)

'Chandramandal'[64] or the Central and Southern parts of modern Goa and tried to suppress the Kadambas. The strong policy adopted by Bhima created a lasting enemity between the Śilāhāra and Kadambas of Goa. During this period Ganga ruler, Satyavakya Konganivarma Permanandi-Būtūga[65] was handsomely rewarded by the Emperor Krishna III for destroying his enemy Ćhola king Rājāditya. These events led to an alliance between Chalukyas and Kadambas, "The two dynasties which were but three centuries before each others' bittest enemies"[66].

Avasara III (970-995) - He was a pious and a peaceful ruler. He was the patron of learning and was himself an enlightened person. He is described as a very handsome prince. His Chikodi (Pattankudi) copperplate grants were issued in the year 988 A.D.[67].

The important contents of this grant are that three merchants, Nagai sresthin, Lokai Sresthin and Adityavarman made a present of forty Dinars as the customary charge of wasting the royal feet. They were granted confirmation of their hereditary rights.

During the reign of king Avasara III the Rashtrakutas were already overthrown by the Kalyani Chalukya King Tailapa II[68]

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64. Ibid No.41 V.19
65. E.I., Vol. II, p.167.
66. Moracs, G.M. The Kadamba Kula, (1931) p.88
67. The Chikodi grants were first published in the J.B.I.S. Mandal Poona in 1913 and now incorporated in the C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.40.
68. Ibid V.6

The powerful Ganga 'mahāmandaleśvara' Nolambantaka Manasimha espoused the cause of his sister's son and the last of the Imperial Rastrakuata princes[69], but the end came sooner than expected. Avasara Śilāhāra[70] however as well as his contemporary members of the Śilāhāra lineage in the Konkan, Akkalkot, Bijapur, Kolhapur etc. remained non-committal for some time.

The South Konkan Śilāhāras quietly accepted the inevitable circumstances. Avasara in his grant praised the fallen masters and at the same time admitted the greatness of the new masters. This indicates that the political conditions were fluid.

Rattaraja (995-1024) - The two charters granted by him dated 1008 and 1010 A.D. do not hint at any political developments. In his Kharepatan Charter he assumes a humble position but in his last charter he seems to have cast off the yoke of the Chalukya suzerain. He styled himself as a powerful king[71]. In this inscription he is described as conqueror of his senses sna devoted to the service of the aged.[72]

There are two noteworthy points during this period. One is that the North Śilāhāra King Aparaditya invaded south Konkan[73] and the second is that the Kolhapur Śilāhara King

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69. Altekar, Op. Cit p.182
70. Avasara III (C.A.D. 970-995) Pattankudi or Chikodi Plates dated 988 A.D. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.40.
71. C.I.I.Vol. VI, 42 Line 42-43 (Samasta Rajavali Samalankruta Sri Rattaraja)
72. Ibid Line 31/32 (Vradhasevi Jitendriya)
73. Janjira plates Ibid No.5 V.32

Gonka assumed the title of the Lord of Konkan[74]. If these Silahara families calimed a common descent how did they think about appropriating the weak state under the rule of one of their own Kinsman?

Rattaraja does not appear to be a great warrior. He showed his statesmanship in accepting the suzerainty of the Chalukyas. His temperary success might have provoked his kinsmen, Kolhapur Śilāhāras. They were indebted to Mārasimha Ganga who was defeated by the new sovereign Tailapa II and the Thane Silaharas wanted to exploit the weakness of Satyasraya who succeeded Tailapa II in 997 A.D. and Vikramaditya V (1008-1018). The rivalry between the Jainas and the Śiva devottees might have also led to a palace revolution. The rivalry was to be intense in the subsequent period[75].

The downfall of the South Konkan Śilāhāras :

The diplomatic move of Rattaraja to offer his submission to the new Imperial power of the Chalukyas could not satisfy the Kadamba Chief Śastha II. He would not also tolerate the rise of Gonka to a position of power in Kolhapur. He considered the territory between Kolhapur and Chandrapur as his legitimate reward for the support he gave to the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The rich Muhammadan merchants who had already settled in Goa and one of the Arab Muhammadan traders, Madhumod who had rescued Guhalla II[76] had fired the imagination

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74. Miraj plates Ibid No.43 V.5
75. Moraes Op.cit p.253.
76. Moraes, Op. Cit p.172

of the Kadamba Chief. As the existence of the two Śilāhāra houses would pose a standing threat to the Kadamba power, he had to adopt strong measures for self-preservation.

As pointed out earlier while discussing the diplomacy of King Avasara II, the foreign merchants namely the Arabs who had originally settled in chaul and had ingratiated themselves with the Kadambas had an ambitious plan to extend their activities to the northern part of Konkan[77] also.

The Cholas had emerged as maritime power from the 11th century and the new Imperial power of the Chalukyas could not tolerate the growing naval power of the Cholas[78] Piracy on the western coast had disturbed the foreign trade especially in the declining years of the Rashtrakutas and the Arabs had to seek more favourable terms than could be offered by Silahara Rattaraja.

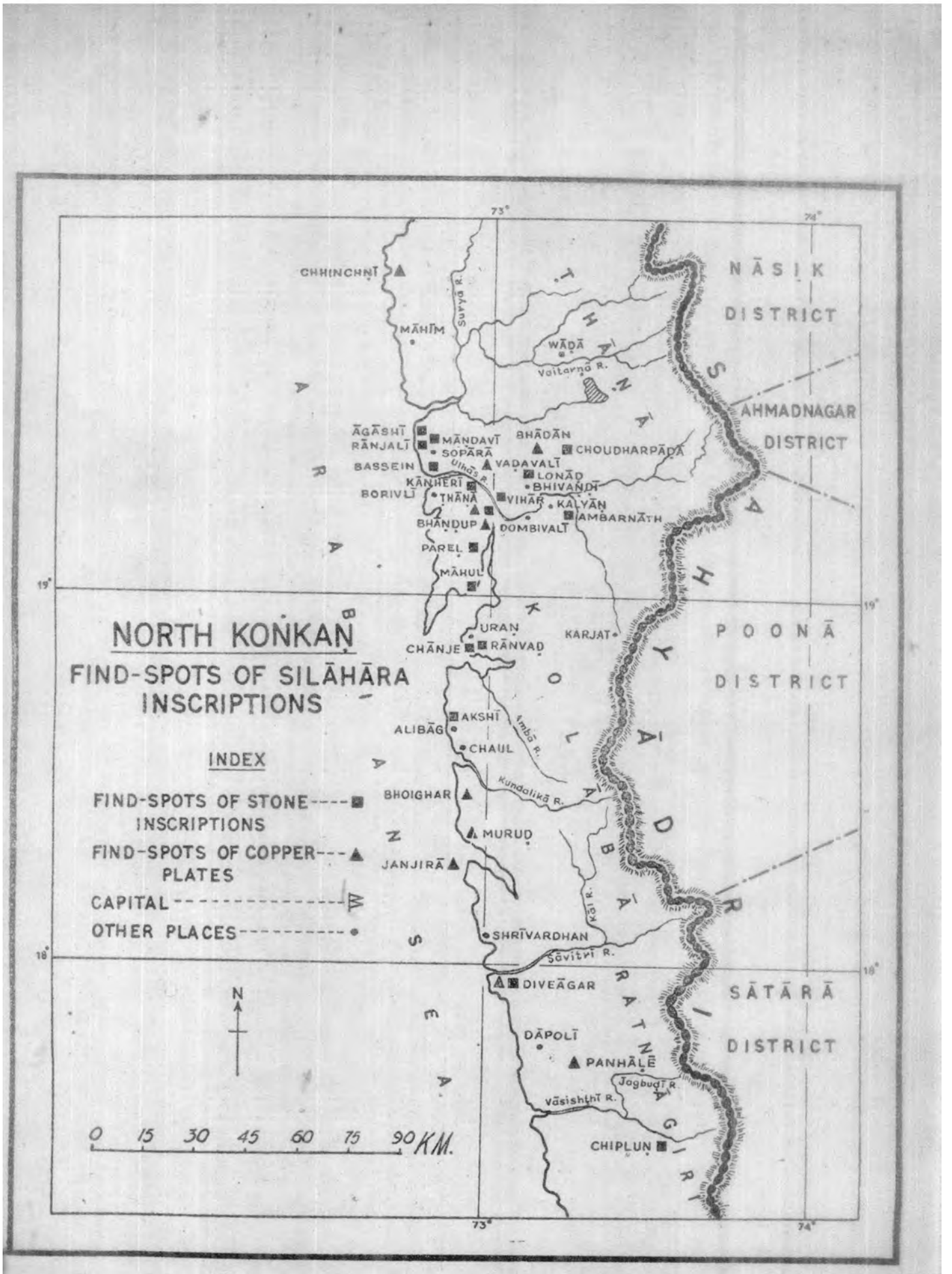
The Kadamba-Chalukya league for domination of the coastal and foreign trade led them to the conquest of the ports. The south Konkan Śilāhāras were the first and the North Konkan Śilāhāras the next victims. It was not religion but the economic forces that motivated these political activities.

Śilāhāras of North Konkan:

The most important segment of the Śilāhāras lineage is obviously the North Konkan segment. As in the case of

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77. Elliot & Dowson Vol. I, p.88
78. Sastri Nilakanta K.A. A History of South India, (Third edition) pp.183-84.



T: Showing find-spots of Śilāhāra Inscriptions in North Koṅkaṇ

South Konkan and Kolhapur the name of the founder of the dynesty was to be discovered not in the first available charter or grant but in the subsequent ones. This is no doubt a reflection on the capacity of writers of the pest and the lack of historical sense.

Pullasakti is mentioned in the first Kanheri cave inscriptions whereas in the third one the name of Kapardi occurs but obviously it is kapardi II[79]. The first mention of the elder Kapardi occurs in Chhadvaideva's Prince of Wales Museum copper-plate[80]. Although the date of the Charter is not mentioned and the king who granted the charter namely, Chhadvaideva was considered to be an usurper as his name is not mentioned in the subsequent records of the dynasty, the document is of proved validity[81].

Kapardi (C.800-825 A.D.)

Kapardi is stated to be sporting the golden bracklet, meaning his kingdom as if produced after Churning of the ocean. The description which attracts our attention is the one which states that he was fond of sea, mountain forts[82], well-fed cows, cultured men, and his fellow men. He was a terrior to the towns and cities of the enemy and was delighted in subduing wild excited elephants. Dr. Mirashi's translation[83] of Roudra nagendrahartā as destroyer of the Naga Kings is inconsistent with the legends of saving the Naga race[84].

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79. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.1 to 3
80. Ibid No.4
81. Mirashi V.V.Silāhāra Rajavamsāchā Itihās āṇi Kôriva lékh' intro., Pt.I.
82. Ibid No.5 Priya giridurga Verse 17
83. C.I.I.Vol. VI, p.25
84. The story of Jimuta as told in Brahatkatha.

Further we do not know whether hostile Nāga Kings were living in the Aparānta region when the Mauryas of Konkan and the Chalukyas subsequently administered the country.

Although details about the exploits of Kapardi are not available, In the Bhadan grant of Aparājit[85] Kapardi is described as the slayer of enemies a multitude of them. Here the composer of the inscription, Annapaiya uses the word Kudamba' in double sense, firstly to denote the evergrowing Kadamba trees and so the everpresent multitude of enemies and secondly to indicate the Kadambas as the enemies. The Bhadan charter was issued in 993 A.D. when the Kadamba- Chalukya alliance had overthrown the erstwhile suzerains of the Śilāhāras namely the Rashtrakutas. Incidently, this is the last charter in which the genealogy of the believed Rashtrakuta sovereigns is given and thereafter the loving memory faded away. However the Silaharas did not show the same respect and dedication to the new sovereigns, the Chalukyas of Kalyani.

Kapardi Silahara rendered a great service to the Rashtrakuta conqueror Govinda III and in recognition of that meritorious, service the latter bestowed on him the governorship of North Konkan. In fact that region was named after him as Kapardi-dwipa or Kavadidvipa[86]. This point has been discussed in Chapter III above. The relevant point is that Kapardi helped either Govinda III or Dharuva Dharavarsha in the courageous bid made by either of them to establish the

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85. Ep. Ind. Vol. III, p.272-73; C.I.I.Vol. VI No.7 Line 23
86. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII, p.316 and 323.

authority of a Southern power over the North.[87]

It casts a flood-light on the changing fortunes of the Ganga, Gurjara-Pratihara, Gand, Chalukya and Pallava rulers during the last quarter of the 8th century. The rising power of the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed was lacking in the single minded drive to crush the opponents as the rivalry for the ancestral throne had cast an evil shadow over their divided minds. The wars of succession[88] between Govinda II and Dhruva and Stamba and Govinda III did not allow them to consolidate the Rashtrakuta empire.

As already discussed in the Chapter II above the displacement of the traditional feudatories like the Mauryas and the early Chalukyas must have caused tension among the Chieftains throughout the Deccan. It must have been difficult for Silahara Kapardi to establish his authority in the Aparanta. Just as the assignment of South Konkan to Silahara Sanaphulla[89] had created a possibillty of clushes between the old chiefs - the Mauryas, the Bhojas and the Kadambas in and around Goa, the catapulting of Kapardi in the Aparanta provoked the possible contendors for authority from Lata, the Seuna-desh and Karad-Kolhapur to mobilise their forces.

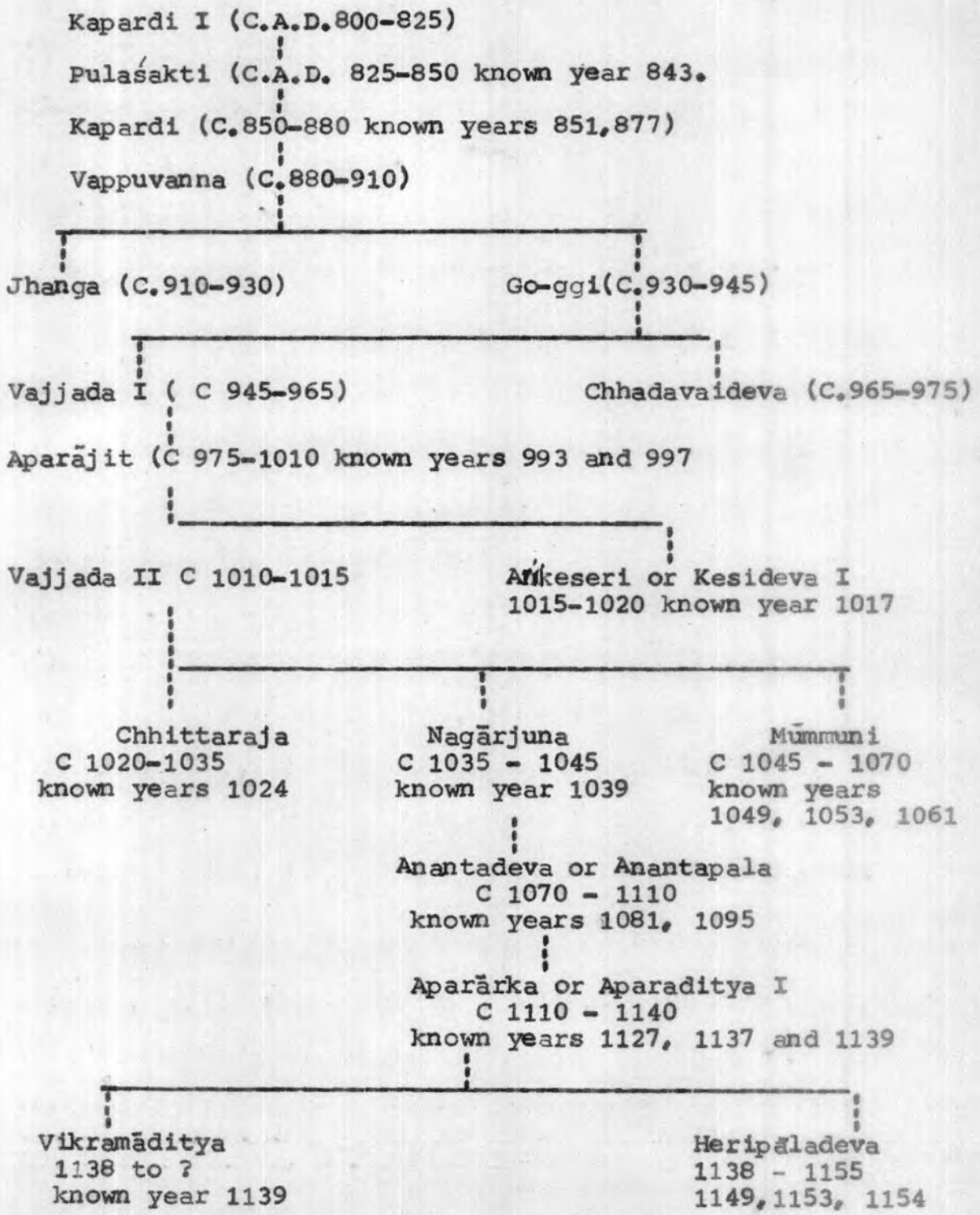
The rise of Rashtrakutas had stirred their erstwhile equals, the Parmaras and the Chedis, the Pallavas and the eastern Chalukyas to concorted action if possible. The

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88. Altekar, A.S.Rashtrakutas etc. Chapter III
89. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.41 Line 22-23

Silaharas had to contend with their angry neighbours and ambitions equals.[90] The genealogy of the dynasty is given below:

The genealogy of the Northern Konkan Silaharas



90. Yewoor Inscription, I-A Vol. VIII, pp.11ff.

After Haripāladeva the relation of the rulers is not known. They were however fromthe same family.

Haripaladeva 1138 - 1155

Mallikārjuna C 1155 - 1170

known years 1156, 1162

Aparāditya II 1170 - 1195

known years 1184, 1185, 1187

Anantadeva II	Keśideva II
1195-1200	C 1200 - 1245
known year 1198	known year 1208, 1239
	Anantadeva III
	C 1245-1255
	known year 1254
	Someśvara C. 1255-1265
	known years 1259, 1260

The genealogy is based on the information supplied in the inscriptions such as Kanheri cave inscriptions, Chhadvaideva's inscription, Mummeni's inscriptions, Vikramaditya's inscription for the information of their predecessors and the information of the reigns of individual rulers after Aparaditya I.

Pulaśakti (825 - 850 A.D.) In the Kanheri cave inscriptions[91] 'Mahadhipati[92] Pulaśakti supreme lord who ruled

91. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.1 to 3, 'J.B.B.R.A.S.Vol.VI(1862)p.8
92. Ibid, No.1 L-2

the whole of Konkan of which Puri was an outstanding place. His minister Vishnu Gupta deposited some funds with the Buddhist monestery as a fixed deposit and directed the organisation to spend the proceeds for the various purposes as he desired. This shows that Thana or the Salsette area was still under the influence of Buddhism, at least as far as the funetions of the monasteries of the nature of banking were concerned.

In another Inscription[93] he is described as Lord of the entire Konkan region and chief of the feudatories. A devotee from Bengal came to Kanheri and deposited some funds with the Buddhist monastery. The contact between a Buddist from Bengal and the members of the Kanheri. Aryasamgha[94] shows that Pulaśakti's rulership of Konkan had laid a firm foundation to stimulate peaceful activities in the Konkan.

His contemporary in the South Konkan was Śilāhāra Aiyapaleva. He was coronated with a special ceremonial bath of coconut water and earlier Dhammiyar had built a capital city of Balipatan. These developments again confirm the impression that there was stability and prosperity in the Western -coast.

The best praise that is bestowed on him is by Aparājit's Kayastha writer Uddam, in the Janjira plate[95] states that he

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93. Ibid., No.2 L.3
94. Ibid. No.5 XXXX
95. Ibid. No.5 V.18

was generous like Karna and he showered gold on the petitioners. We are told in Chhittarajas Berlin Museum copper-plate[96] that he ruled without any difficulty.

The first half of the 9th century thus did not present any serious problems for the whole Konkan coast and the silaharas could stabilise their position and could exploit the coconut plantation and the mountain produce[97].

Kapardi II (850-880 A.D.) - In Arikesari's Thane copper-plate grant[98] he is described as having subdued his enemies. It is during his reign that we find that the North Konkan Silaharas had emerged as the powerful supporters of the Rashtrakuta Empire. The empire of the Rashtrakutas was expanding[99]. Emperor Amoghavarsha seemed to have transferred the territory between the Narmada and the Tapti to the control of the North Konkan Śilāhāras, between 863 and 867 A.D.[100]. Thus Kapradi-II had consolidated his position and could now find himself pitched against the dispossessed Gujrat Rashtrakuta, Karka who had held that fief of Lata upto 862 A.D. The Śilāhāras of Konkan were growing in power with the expansion of the Rashtrakuta empire.

Vappuvana (880-910) - He received great praise in Chhadvaideva's Prince of Wales Museum Inscription[101]. He is desdribed as a man with unlimited power. Chhittarajas Berlin

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96. Ibid No.11 V.5
97. AlIdrisi Elliot & Donson Vol.I, p.85.
98. J.B.B.R.A.S.Vol.I(1802)p.357-367; C.I.I.Vol.VI No.8V.6
99. I.A.Vol.XII, p.179.
100. Altekar, A.S.Rashtrakutas etc. p.86.
101. Progress Report of Arch. Survey of W.India, Western Circle for 1919-20 pp.55-56; Ep.Ind.Vol.XXVI pp.282F.

Museum copper-plated dated 1034 A.D.[102] describes him as a 'Vibhuti' Great soul. He is stated to have dispersed the elephant phatanx, and made them all Vināyakas that is one-tusked God Ganesh. This echoes the sound of the great victory of Rashtrakuta Dhruva over Ganga Sivamara II[103] around 797 A.D. The defeated Ganga was an author of a treatise on war-elephants.

Vappuvana was a contemporary of Rashtrakuta overlord king Krishna II (880-888). He might have participated in some of his wars. It is during this period that Amoghavarsha allowed the Arab merchants to set up their colony at Sayyan. He granted territory to Muslim Arab named Madhumat (Mohammad). His family continued to rule upto the end of Rashtrakuta[104] empire.

Jhanjha (910-930) - In Aparajit's Janjira plates[105] a great honour is bestowed on him. By calling him as the exponent of the best that the race of Śilāhāra was capable of. In Chhittaraja's Inscription[108] he is stated to have built twelve siva temples. Thus by this meritorious work he paved his way to heaven. This praise is repeated in the subsequent inscriptions. This is how he was regarded as a pious man and the Śilāhāras thus expressed their appreciation for having placed a great ideal before his descendents. The temples that he build however did not survice for a long time. How they disappeared remains a mystery.

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102. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.11 V.7
103. Altekar, A.S. Rashtrakuta etc. p.54
104. Ep.Ind.Vol.XXXII, pp.45f.
105. Janjira Plate of Apararjit C.I.I.Vol.VI No.5 V.20
106. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.11 V.8
107. Elliot & Dowson, Vol.I, pp.21-22
108. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.41 L-57

Al-Masudi[107] writing in the 10th century referred to semur (Chaul) as governed by Jhanjha in C.A.D. 916. This means the North Konkan Śilāhāras had extended their effective control upto the prosperous town of Chaul. As pointed above the Arab adventurers (Madhumati his son Sahiyarahara and his son Sugaten) had firmly established themselves on the Western coast and at times clashed with the Śilahāra. Madhumati that is Muhammad at the end of the 9th century had brought all the ports on the West-coast under his sway[108] as no custom duty was charged on their ships from chaul. They also had the principality of Sayyan under their rule. The Arab chiefs of Sayyan appointed. Hindu ministers and granted lands in villages and villages also as endowments to the temple of Bhagavati of Sayyan[109].

It is worth pointing out that all those who settled at Sayyan were not Arabs. There were Parsis also who had settled at Sanjan as for back as e in A.D. 735[110]. The idol destroying Arab Muslims of the 10th Century would not make such grants to Hindu temple, the sun-worshipping Zoroastrians would do that.

Goggiraj (930-945 A.D.) - In the Chhadvaideva's Prince of Wales Museum Copper Plate Inscription[111] he is given the title of twice important as Jhanjha. Dr. Mirashi translates 'Dviguna Jhanjha' as another Jnahjha. In Aparajit's

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106. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.11 V.8.
107. Elliot & Dowson, Vol.I, pp.21-22.
108. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.41 L.57
109. Ep.Ind.Vol.XXXII pp.45f.
110. Ind.Ant.,1912,p.174
111. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.4 L.36 V.24

Bhadan Inscription[112] he has been enlogised as a great patron of learning, a reservoir of purity, a store-house of wealth and as virtuous as king sagar.

This period was a critical one as Govinda IV the tyrant Emperor was driven out by his younger brother, Amoghvarsha II. The struggle was watched with keen interest by all feudatories including the Śilāhāras. Incidently Silahara Jatiga of Kolhapur was to come into the lime-light during the declining period of the Rashtrakuta Empire[113].

Vajjada I (945-965 A.D.) - He is praised as a famous king. Victory easily rested on his chest when on the battle-field and he became the natural abode of royal grandeur[114]

Chhadvaideva (965-975 A.D.)- We learn about his reign from his Prince of Wales Museum Copper-plate grant. It is undated but may relate to the period between 934 to 937[115]. This record gives us information about the overthrow of Govinda IV by his nephew Amoghavarsha III and Krishna III son of the latter ascended the thrown in 940 A.D.[116]. Chhadvaideva was his contemporary.

He was the brother of the brilliant ruler Goggiraj. He conquered his enemies and continued the glorious tradition of victory, prosperity and the welfare of the people.[117]

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112. Ibid No.7 V.18
113. Gandaradetyas Talele Copper-plate Ibid No.45, V.4
114. Nagarjuna's Thane Copper-plate Ibid No.13 V.10
115. Altekar, A.S.'Rashtrakutas etc., p.106 & 110.
116. Ibid p.111
117. C.I.I.Vo,. VI No.4 VV 9-15

This ruler does not find any mention in the list of rulers of this line in their official genealogy. He appears to be a usurper[118] according to Dr. Mirashi. He appears to be bluent from the statements he made in the inscriptions. He condemned the wrong doers with vehemence and there is a hint in his narration of a wounded pride. He had to struggle against his kingmen to make them accept his position.

Incidently this is the first Inscription of the North-Konkan Śilāhāra kings composed by the writes and the floating ideas and and ideals are found in some places in the Charter. The name of the composer is not given. There is a different version of the origin of the race found in this inscription. The name Śilāhāra is explained as the descendants of the hero silar who saved the sea from the painful arrows of Parasuram[119].

Aparājit (975-1010 A.D.) Chhadvaideva was succeeded by his nephew son of Vajjada to the thana throne. His two Janjira copper-plates[120] refer to the period after the over-throw [121] of the Rashtrakutas by Chalukya Taila II of Kalyani . In Rattaraja's kharepatan copper-plate the defeat[122] of the Rashtrakutas by the Chalukyas is stated as a matter of course and the new, suzerain was also saluted but in Aparājit's inscription the feeling of loss is expressed and the unfortunate

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118. Ibid p.11
119. Ibid V.19
120. Ibid Nos 5 & 6
121. Ibid No.5 V.13
122. Ibid No.41 VV 10 and 11

end of the great Rashtrakuta Empire is lamented. Aparajit however continued to assert his position as the Lord of the western sea[123] in a defiant manner.

He drove out the Arabs from Sanjan after the fall of the Rashtrakutas and extended his kingdom from south Gujrat to Chandrapur in Goa[124]. He even assumed the title of the supreme king (Rayapitamah[125].

Aparājit - The political conditions when Chhadvaideva the uncle of Aparajit was ruling were uncertain. The death of the Rashtrakuta strong man Krishna III in 968 A.D. encouraged the Parmara king Siyaka II to exploit the weakness of his successor Khotisgadeva. He fought against khotigadeva at Khalighatta on the banks of Narmada[126]. He captured and sacked Rashtrakuta capital city Manyakheta in 972 A.D.[127]. In view of this hostility towards Rashtrakuta, Suzerain the Parmaras might have been opposed by Chhadvaideva or he might have been neutral. His successor Aparajit in his Janjira plate issued twenty-four years after that date showed the great loyalty towards the imperial house[128]. This will conclusively prove that Aparājit did not associate himself or sent his son Prince Arikesari to help Vakpati II (974-994 AD) or his successor Sinduraja Parmara (C 997-1010 A.D.). Prince Arikesari might have paid his respectful visit to Somnath

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123. Ibid No.5 L.49
124. Ibid No.6.VV 26 & 27
125. Ibid No.8 V.13
126. E.I.Vol.I p.235,V.13; E.I.Vol.XXI, p.47
127. E.I.Vol.XXIII,p.101.M.Kenkataramayya however puts the sack of Manyakheta during the period of Vakapati Munya (E.I. XXIX, p.26).He adduces the evidence of the poet Dhanapata, the concluding verse of Paiyalachhhi states the Manyakheta was plundered in Vikram era 1029=972 A.D. and the first known date of Vakapati Munja is 974 A.D.(I.A.Vol.VI,pp.51-52)
128. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.5 VV.15-16

temple befofe the Parmara sack of Manyakheta. Prince Arikesari on the eve of that animosity between Parmara and Rashtrakuta might be a bay of 8 or 10 years old. The only copper-plate grant issued by Arikesari is dated 6th November 1017 A.D. It means if Arikesari was 18 years in 972 (i.e. his birth would be in 962) by 1017 he would be around 55. The statement that Arikesari paid a respectful visit to God Somanath accompanied with his army although quite young[129] can be thus reconciled. This will solve many problems raised by theories advanced in this respect by Dr. Mirashi and others.

To begin with Dr. Mirashi earlier had suggested that Sindhuraja invaded Aparanta in order to help Arikesari alias Kesideva against his younger brother Vajjada who had superceeded his Vajjada's legitimate claim of succession[130]. He goes on further to say that Sindhuraja Parmara reversed the policy of cordiality forwards the North-Silaharas his forefathers had followed as expressed in the Navasahasānkacharita[131]

Vakpati II (Munja) Parmara and his Sindhuraja hoped to replace the tottering Rashtrakuta Suzerainty by Parmara sovereignty after the defeat of Khôttiga and the plunder of Mankhed[132]. It was for this wider goal that the Parmaras

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129. Ibid No.19 Verse 16. 130. I.A.LXII,pp.102-03; M.S.I., vol.II pp.61-62.

131. Note: Naga ruler 'Sankhapala sought the aid of the Parmara King Sindhuraja against Vajrankusa.Dr.Mirashi identified Vajrankus'a with Vajjuka a relative of the Kalcheris (C.I. I.Vol.IV Intro., p.CXX).He along with the Silaharas (Vidya-dharas E.I.Vo,.XII,pp.261-65)marched against Vajjukawhom he slew in battle, placed a Nagaprince in Charge of his territory and married the daughter of the Naga King(Padma-gupta's Navasas as ankachareta),Dr.Mirashi after the discovery of Dive Agar copper-plate by Mrs.C.P.Nakti found the correct reading in Verse 5 of that copper-plate which states that Vajjad was the elder brother of the two C.I.I. Vol. VI p.60 (132) E.I Vol. XXIII p.101. [N.132]

invaded Lāta, Konkan and other parts of the Rashtrakuta empire and not because he was interested in Vajjad or Arikesari. The Parmaras wanted to fill in the vacuum created by the overthrow of the established Rashtrakuta. The Yadava ruler Bhilloma II of Seunades'a was probably an ally of Chalukya rebel Taila II[133]. Aparājit's supremacy extended from the country of Lāta to that of Bhillama[134] amply proves that Aparājit had not shifted his allegiance to Chalukyas. In fact he was suppressing the enemies of Khottiga and Karkka II, Rashtrakut. He had suppressed the Arabs of Sayyan and extended his power over Pune, Sangamesvara and Chiplun[135]. The suppression of the Arab Samanta or feaudatory at Sayyan was significant as the Kadamba Shashta II had already cultivated the Arab maritime power over the West-Coast[136].

Aparajit Śilāhāra did not submit to the Chalukyas of Kalyani. He had assumed the title of Paschimasamedrādhipa[137] He ventured to make an alliance with Rattaraja (A.D.995-1020A.D) of South Konkan Śilāhāra house and Aparajit extended his control upto Chandrapura[138]. The reprisal was soon to come as the Cholas who were contending for power in the peninsular

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133. Dr.Altekar is of the view that he was one of the aspirants to the throne of the Rashtrakutas having married a daughter of Rashtrakuta Jhanjha. 'Rashtrakutas' etc p.126 note No.49.
134. Janjira plate of Aparajit C.I.I.Vol. VI No.5 verse 32.
135. Ibid. V.31
136. Archivo da secrataria Geral do Governo, Panjim, Moncoes de Reino, No.93, fol. 1396 quoted by Dr.Moraes in his Kadamba kula & pp.185-186
137. Ibid Line 49.
138. B.S.I.Vol. XV, pp.35 ff.

India, were pressing hard the to crush the upstart and they wanted to control the Western Coast. To meet the Chalange the Chalukyas of Kalyani mustered in their service all those who wished to improve their prospects. The Kolhapur Śilāhāra Jatya II and his son could hardly benefit from their alliance with the Gangas as the Gangas fought a losing battle on behalf of the Rashtrakuatas[139].

Kadambas were once driven to great straits when South Konkan Śilāhāra Bhima(945 to 970 A.D.) captured the Chandramandal[140]. This offensive measure on the part of the Southern Śilāhāra king was obviously to support the Rashtrakuta suzerain and suppress the insurrection by the Kadambas[141] in league with the Chalukyas of Kalyani. The sack of Manyakheta by Panmara king provided the opportunity for Chattadeva Kadamba to declare his independence[142]. The subsequent overthrow of the Rashtrakuta Karkka II in 972-73 improved the prospects of Kadambas of Goa. Gulula II was saved by a Tajik merchant who not only helped the stranded Kadamba chief of Chandrapur but helped him with "as much wealth as nobody in any part of the world not even a king could offer [143]. The alliance of Kadamba of Chandrapur with the Arab merchants who had set up their settlemtns in Goa[144] and originally had established themselves at Chemulya[145] also did not augur well for the

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139. Nolambanaka Murasimha Ganga had espoused the cause of Indra IV a grandson of Krishna III and the son of his own sester. He crowed him king (Rice, Inscriptions from Siharas Belagora No.59 (econd edition)
140. Rattavjas' kharepatan Copper-plate dat.1008A.D.C.I.I.Vol.VI No.41 Verse 19.
141. E.I.Vol.XV,p.333.
142. E.I.Vol.I,pp.225-226
143. Archivo da secrtaria gen do Governo,Panjim,Nancoes do Reino,N1.93,fol.1396 quoted by Dr.Moracs PP185-186.
144. ~~Panjim Copper-plate of Jaykesi I saka 981 AD 1059)~~
145. ~~Ibid verse 26~~

South Konkan Śilāhāras. Aparajit and his successors Vajjada II & Arikesari had to intervene and establish the control of Silaharas over the whole of Konkan to prevent the Kadambas subverting their position. The forays of Kolhapur Silaharas Gonka into the Konkan region must have weakened the efforts of Aparajit to mobilise the land forces against the Chalukya-Kadamba alliance.

It was a real struggle for supremancy and we find a situation somewhat resembling that in which Rashtrakuta Krishna II found himself at the end of the 9th century[146]. The side-effect of the Rashtrakuta struggle with Gangas and Eastern Chalukyas was that the Rashtrakuta branch in Gujrat came to an end in 888 A.D.[147]. Similarly in the clashes that took place between the North-Konkan with the Chalukya-Kadambas, the outcome was the immediate loss of power by the South Konkan Śilāhāras in the first quarter of the 11th century viz 1024 A.D.[148].

Aparajit and his son are styled 'srimana'[149] which

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144. Panjim Copper-plate of Jaykesi I saka 981 (AD 1059) Verse 25 (ed.Dr.M.G.Dixit S.M.H.
145. Ibid Verse 26
146. Altekar A.S.'Rashtrakutas' p.90
147. Ibid p.98
148. The other factors are already mentioned in the discussion of their downfall.
149. Arikesari's Thane Ins.C.I.I.Vol. VI No.8 Lines 14 and 23. The epithet 'Sriman' is exclusively used for Aparajit and Vajjadadeva I and II eg. No.9 Lines 9,12 and 14; No.11 Lines 19,21 & 22; No.14 Lines 16,18 & 22/23; No.15 Lines 16,18 & 23; No.19 Lines 24,27 & 33; No.20 Lines 17, 19 & 20 and No.23 Lines 12,13 & 15.

indicates thatxx the Chalukyas had not won a decisive victory over the North Konkan Śilāhāras as long as Aparājit held the reins of power. He is styled 'Raipitamah' literally meaning grand-father of Kings which means king maker and 'Samanta-diks'a guru' the bestower of feudal status on his subordina te's Aparājit appears to enjoy a special position in the history of the Śilāhāras. The epithet 'Diptimartanladeva' that is a Luminous God' expresses his noble role in the estimation of his family or in the eyes of the poet minister.

Aparajits growing power and his defiant attitude provoked prince Satyaśraya son of King Tailapa II to invade his kingdom. Aparajit was not prepared for such an invation. He had earlier given shelter to Gomma, he firmly established Aiyapa onnthe throne and gave security to Bhillama, Ammana and Mambuve[150]. The alliance with these petty princes who cannot be identified except Bhillam II the Yadava king of seunadesh. The battle between Aparajit and prince satyasraya (king Tailapa was ruling up to 998 A.D.) took place somewhere between 980-981 A.D. in which Aparajit was defeated and had to seek the Shelter of sea-coast[151]. Ranna the Kannada Court poet of Tailap was given a vivid description of his flight and compared him to an insect on a stick both ends of which were burning[152] Satyaśraya levied a tribute of twenty one elephants.

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150. Janjira plate C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.5 Lines 40-42
151. B.R.Gopal, however has showed that Aparajit was defeated by Satyasraya after the latter came to the throne in 997 A.D. in his book 'Chalukyas of Kalyan' pp. 96-97.
152. Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p.41

This was a temporary reverse for Aparajit and in his grants issued in 993 and 997 A.D. he avoided any reference to his defeat and it is clear that his attitude of defiance continued.

The poet minister under Arikesari and his two successors, Joupaiya continued to describe him as invincible on the battlefield[153]. Satyāśraya was busy fighting against his powerful Chola enemy in 1006 A.d. and thus could not press his advantage in Konkan further. His great city of Manyakhet was sacked[154].

Vdijada II (1010-1015) and Arikesari (1015-1025) - Aparajit was succeed by his two sons in the first quarter of the eleventh century. This period was eventful for the whole Deccan.

Satyàśraya Chalukya had left a legacy of waar to his nephew Vikramaditya V who was unequal to the task. His brother Jayasimha II ascended the throne in 1015 A.D. and had to face the attack of Paramara King Bhojadeva. Rajendra Chola stopped him from interfering in the vengi affairs, and defeated his army and forced hjm to recognize tacitty the Tungabhadra as the boundary[155].

The struggle between the Later Chalukyas and their rivals the Paramaras inthe north and Cholas in the South

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153. Chhitas Berlin Museum Copper-plate date, 5.4.1034 Ø.D.M. G.Bund XC (1936), pp.26f. Verse 10
154. Sastri Nilakant K.A. A History of South India (3rd ed.)p.182
155. Sastri Nilakanta K.A. 'AcHistory of South India.p.175.

created many problems for the Śilāhāra rulers of Konkan. Aparajit had stirred a hornest's nest by his policy of expansion and defiance of his erstwhile suzerain the Chalukyas. It was all right during the week rule of Vikramaditya V but his brother Jaysimha took a firm line of action. He liquidated the South Konkan Śilāhāras with the help of the Kadambas in 1024 A.D. and encamped at Kolhapur so as to finalise the plans of the conquest of North Konkan[156].

Kadamba king Shashtadeva II of Goa was contemplating to avenge the defeat of his father at the hands of Aparājit. Both Paramāra Bhoja[157] and Kadamba Shashtadeva II attached North Konkan at different times but motivated by the same spirit of avenging defeat and disgrace of their predecessors.

Arikesari (1015-1025) - There is a controversy whether Vajjad was set aside by his younger brother Arikesari[158]. It seems both Vajjad and Arikesari governed the North Konkan kingdom. Arikesari was a fourite of his father as he had sent to him to pay a respectful visit to the temple of God Somanath at Saurashtra[159]. He had his army with him but there is no conclusive proof to say that Arikesari a bay of ten or twelve at that time, had participated in the war

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156. The Miraj plates Ind. Ant, Vol. VIII, p.18.
157. Dr. Altekar was of the opinion that Bhoja Parmara attacked North-Konkan because Arikesari acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chalukyas-Ind. Cult., Vol. VI, p.408
158. C.I.I.Vol. VI, p.55. Dr. Mirashi however points out that since the publication of Dive Agar plates of Chhittaraja (dated 27 A.D.) in his volume No.10 the doubt has been cleared .
159. Chittaraja's plate dated 5.4.1035 A.D. - C.I.I.Vol. VI N.10 Verse 13.

against the enemies of Paramara king[160]. Pratipal Bhatia[161] merely expresses a guesq that the Vidyadhera prince Saśikhnanda may be a Śilāhāra and Dr. Mirashi[162] wishes to identify Sikhandaketu with Arikesari. As mentioned above Vajjad the elder brother was ruling as a regular king (Bhupala)[163] whereas Arikesari was merely a prince [164] (nripa) even after the death of Vajjad he continued to be in that position, may be as a regent for his nephew, Vajjad's son Chhittaraj. Arikesari was always treated by his successor with a great regard especially the term "Satām sammata[165]. If Arikesari were to usurp the throne he could not have received such ovation.

Dr. Altekar[166] tried to prove that Vachharya of Thana mentioned in the Hangal Inscription of Kadamba king Chhattadeva II (1005-1055 A.D.) was Vajjadeva II himself. If this be accepted, the matrimonial alliance should have improved the relations between the Śilāhāras of Konkan and the Kadambas of Goa. Any Arikesari succeeded Vajjada and after Arikesari, Chhittaraj came to the throne at a very critical time in the history of North-Konkan. He was styled nripati[167].

Chhittarāj (1020-1035 A.D.) - He was the son of Vajjada II the elder brother of Arikesari. In his Bhandup

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160. Padmagupta 'Navasahasankacharita' Story of Sindhuraja's victory over Vajrankusa.
161. Pratipala Bhatia, The Parmaras; p.71.
162. C.I.I.Vol.VI, intro., p.XII.
163. Ibid. No.11 Line 22, and Line 24
164. Ibid Line 23. 165. Nagarjuna's Thane plate Ibid V.16
166. Ind. Cult. Vol. II, p.408.
167. Chhittaraja's Bhandup Grant C.I.I.Vol.VI No.9 Line 15.

copper-plate grant mentioned above he has been praised as the one who enhanced the fame and status of the Sihahara dynasty even during his boyhood.

The fact however is that the North Konkan Silahara suffered a degradation all-round. The Kadamba king Sashtadeva II seized the opportunity of the minority of the North Konkan Śilāhāra ruler. He had already crushed the power of the South Konkan Śilāhāra Rattaraja by 1024 A.D. This was obviously to avenge the humiliation at the hands of Bhima[168] before the overthrow of the Rashtrakuta suzerain. He continued to avenge one more defeat and that was of his father Guhaladev at the hands of Aparājit[169]. The Narendra Inscription describes this expedition, [170]. "As he took the kavadi-dvipa and many other regions, he built a bridge of boats with lines of ships reaching as far as Lanka, and claimed tribute among grim barbarions, exceedingly exalted was the dominion of the Kadamba Sovereign, which many called a religious estate for the establishment of the worship of Rama".[170]

The Kadamba navy owed much to their friendship with the Tajik Madumod and his descendents as later on Jaykesi I was to appoint his grandson 'Sadeno'[171] as the governor of konkan. The array of the bridge of boats against their own kith and kin (grim barbarians) in the wake of destruction of

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168. Ibid No.41 Verse 19.
169. Ibid No.6 (Aparajits Janjira-plate) V.27
170. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p.369.
171. Moracs, Op. cit., p.185

the restiges of national independence in the North by Sultan Mahmud was to angur ill for the future of the Deccan. It was the end of Ancient Indra [172]. It seems Shashtadeva was not aware of the destruction of the temple of Somnath where his father used to make frequent pilgrimage. He also forgot that his family, had marriage relations with the 'grim babraians's He might have been impressed by his own success and therefore might have allowed young Chhitaraj to continue to rule as his subordinate and start constructing a temple in honour of God S8va and 'Thus to create a religious estate for the establishment of the worship of Rama". [172.A]

As we refer to Somnath of Saurashtra we may refer to the visit of prince Arikesari who had surfendered his kingdom to that God at the behest of his father, the great conquering hero Aparajit. After demolition of Somnath temple it seems Arikesari's kingdom also was destined to meet with the same fate. The difference between Kadamba Guhaladeva's pilgrimage and that of Arikesari was that Guhaladeva sailed [173] in Arab ships and Arikesari took his troops[174] - mostly the rude peasants from Thane to offer worship whereas the ebb and flow of the tide was considered to be the worship paid to the idol by the sea[175].

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172. Majumdar, R.C. The struggle for Empire Vol.I Foreword by K.M.Munshi p.VIII 172.A Ep.Ind. Vol.XIII p.369.
173. Moraes op.cit pp. 171-72
174. Chittarajas copper plate grant C.I.I.Vol.VI No.11 V.13
175. Somnath, Al Kazwini, Elliot & Dowson Vol.I, p.97

Chhittaraj however was under the control of the Kadambas for a short duration between 1027 to 1033 as his grants during this period are not available however in his grant in the year 1034 A.D.[176] the poet minister Joupaiy treated that as a bad dream and continued to used the customary titles to praise his lord.

It is however clear that Chhittaraj possessed great qualities of head and heart. He patronised the famous Saurashtra poet Soddahala[177]. He undertook the construction of the temple of Amarnath - a Śiva temple. These were the indications of improvement of his position. There is no mention of any submission either to Kadambas or their suzerains the Chalukyas. In fact Chhittarajas feudatory and probably ~~ex~~ a near relative, Chamundaraj of the Modh clan was appointed as the governor of Sayyan[178] (Sanjan) which Aparājit had liberated from the sea-traders from Africa after the collapse of the Rashtrakuta empire. Taking a leaf from the book of Kadamba dynasty this feudatory gathered around him leaders of 'vyavaharaha'[179]. Ahiya, Mahar, Madhumat obviously Muslim names but whether they were Parsis, Jews or Arab the Sanskritised names would not indicate and as it was a gift of an oil press to the Goddess Bhagavati the presence of Sun-worshippers, the Parsis can be understood.

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176. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.11
177. Soddhala, 'udayasundarikathā' p.152.
178. ~~Sodd~~ Chinchani copper-plate C.I.I.Vol. VI No.12 Lines 5-6.
179. Ibid Line 11

Nagarjun (1035 - 1045) Chhittaraj was succeeded by his brother Nagarjun who is described not as prince (nripa) but Lord of Land (Kshmapati). He is further described as highly virtuous, a Sahasrārjuna bearing his bow and arrow[180]. It is quite certain that this was not an empty praise. He must have taken much pains to build a strong armed force. The Chalukya Emperor Someśvara I had to mobilise all his feudatories Prôla of Kakatiya, Kadamba of Banavasi, Yadava of Seuna, and Haihaya of Chedi and general Madhuva and Pulakesin marched under his banner[181]. It must have been a great war. He possessed superhuman strength and he could charm his enemies to sleep on the battle-field especially when they were spoiling for a fight[182]. He must have been a giant of a man, a great organiser and people must have attributed to him the mystic powers which were supposed to be acquired by Tantric or Yogic practices. This valiant hero died fighting on the battle-field. The first martyr of the Śilāhāra house in the defence of his kingdom.

Mummuni (1045-1070 A.D.) - He succeeded his brother and is styled as guardian of the land (Kshoṇipal) The war between Nagarjuna and Chalukya Someśvara must have taken place around the year 1045 as the first reference to it occurs in the Nanded Inscription[183]. After this great struggle Kadamba Śashta seemed to have been tourning North Konkan. The news

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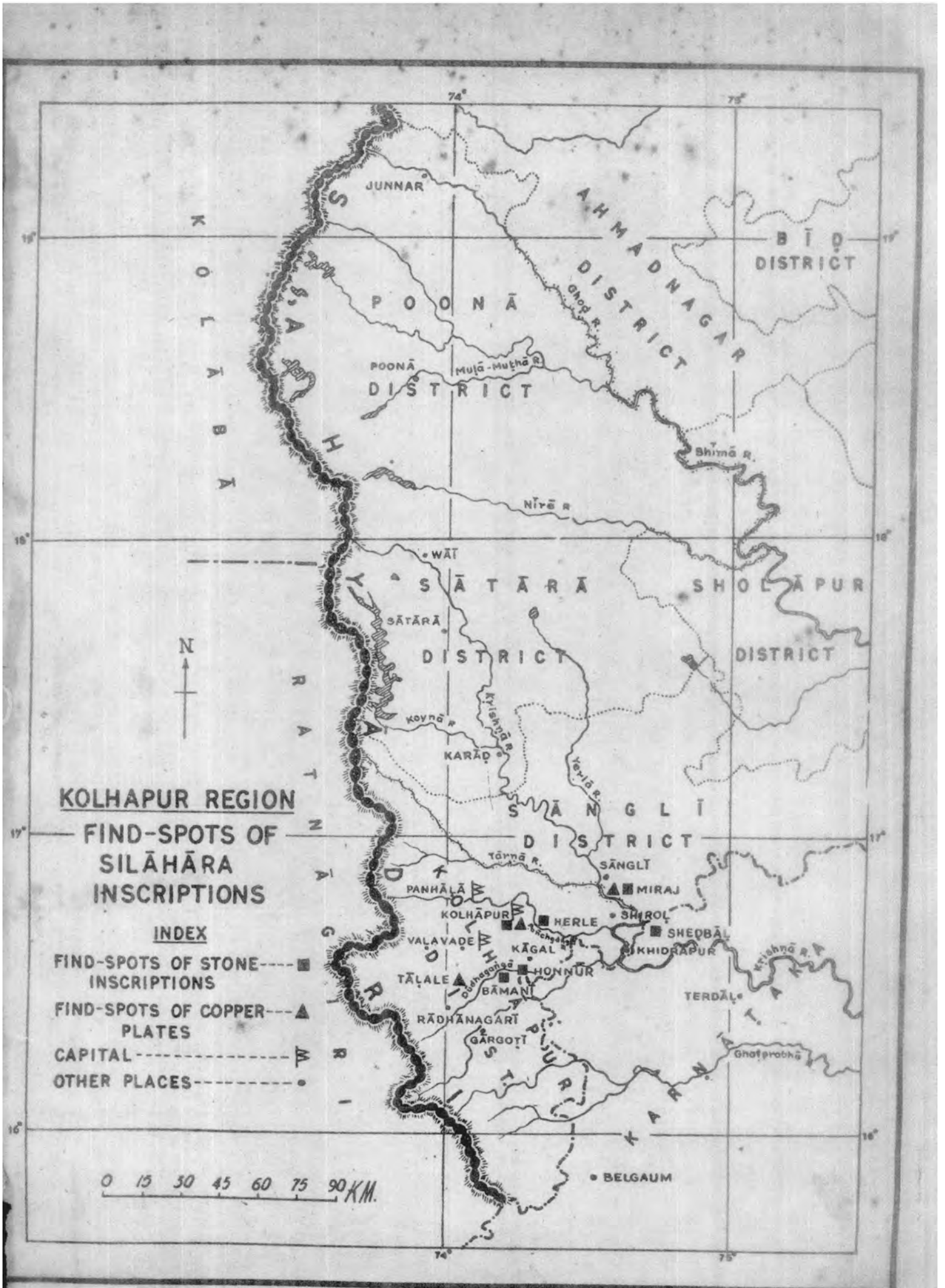
180. Nagarjuna's Thane copper-plate C.I.I.Vol. VI No.13 Line 36-37
181. H.C.I.P.Vol.V,p.171
182. Aparaditya's Vadavali Copper-plate C.I.I.Vol.VI.20 V.16
183. Inscriptions fromthe Nanded District, intro.,p.xxii (dated 1047 A.D.).

of his sport upon the ocean reached Mummuni. "He welcomed him and bestowed on him his daughter and gave to his son-in-law five lakhs of gold"[184]. Dr. Moraes observes that this conduct of Mummuni towards his overlord has an exact parallel in the treatment given by Jayakesi I to his overlord Vikramāditya VI[185]. The same Narendra Inscription affirms that Jayakesit I bestowed on him his daughter, together with "abudant ornaments, many damsels, a treasury, and a wedding gift without count"[186]. If we closely scrutinize the whole account we can discern that the poet who composed the inscription exercised his imagination more than reporting the facts. Mummuni ascended the throne by the grace of Chalukya Emperor, he was in his late forties or early fifties. Kadamba Sashta must be an old man at that time. It was all right in the case of Vikramaditya VI who was at least younger than his father-in-law by twenty years.

Mummuni was fondly called cupid incarnata (Meena-ketu). In his Thane grant[187] there is a reference to groups of feudatories and the administration of entire Konkan. He was a highly cultured man. He patronised the famous poet Soddhala. The memorable event of his reign however is the completion of the building of the temple of Ambernath.[187.A] The completion ceremony was announced by engraving the names of the following eight ministers and one feudatory under Mummuni on the stone beam of the temple. Besides the king, Mummuni.

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184. E.I..,XIII,p.310(Narendra Inscription)
185. Moraes, op cit.,p.176 186. E.I., XII,p.309
187. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.14 Lines 38-39.
187.A. Ibid No.17.



Showing find-spots of Śilāhāra Inscriptions in the Kolhāpur Region

The names are -

Mahemātya -	- Bimbapai
Mahāpradhān	- Nagnaiya
Lekh Sēndhivigrahika	- Vakavaiya
Mahāsāndhivigrahika	- Joglaiya
Chief Bhendāgārasen	- Mahādevaiya
Eputy Chief Bhēndāgārasen	- Bhaiḍaiya
Rajaguru	- Nabhata
Junior RaǧaGūrū	- Vilanda shivabhatta S'akana Paivayaka
(Feudatory) Mahāsamanta	- Sri Tāsivaraj

Anantapala J (1070-1110) - He was the son of the valiant fighter Nagarjun. He came to the throne after the death of Mummuni[188].

There was a total revolution in the diplomatic relations among the states in the Deccan and the Chalukyas empire was partitioned between Someśvara II and Vikramāditya VI after the suicide of Someśvara I in 1068. Prince Vikramāditya conspired against his brother with the help of the inveterate enemy of the later Chalukyas namely the Cholas, and successfully captured the throne in 1076 A.D.[189]. Bhoja Parmara died in 1055[190] and for the next fifteen years a or so,Malwa was in Chaotic conditions.

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188. Dr.Moraes states that Mummuni was killed in the battle in 1056 A.D. 'Kadamba kula p.180.King Mummani's Amernath stone inscription of 1060 A.D. and Anantadevas stone insscription of Vihar of 1083 A.D. were not been considered while arriving at the date.
189. Y.E.H.D.,p.355.
190. Pratipal Bhatia, The Parmaras, p.93

The Kadambas of Goa however had improved their position. Jayakesi I had offered his daughter in marriage to the Chalukya Emperor Vikramaditya wishing to take the advantage of the confusion after the death of Mummuni, the Kadambas sent the Yavana companies under the leadership of Munaya to devastate the land. Anantapala inflicted a crushing defect on the 'yavana' enemies who were supported by the Kadambas., The valiant efforts of Anantapal are described in the following vigorous manner[191].

"He (Anantapala) was the son of the holy memory (Nagarjuna) ~~Anantapala.~~ He drove the wicked and sinful soldiers of Muna who exploited the internal difference in the family. The Yavana soldiers, devasted the Konkan region harrassing gods and Brahmanas by numberless swords. Anantapala crushed them and inscribed his fame on the disc of the moon and enhanced the prestige of his forebears." The Yavana here, can mean both Arabs and non-Hindu soldiers, probably in the employment in the pirates. Anantapala does not blame any king but condemns the raid. We now will examine the term 'Dāyādavaimi Vyasana[192] which has many interpretations. Now let us consider what the scholars have to say about the conflict between the 'Kinsmen' (Dāyādavairivyasana).

Dr. Altekar observes that Kharepatan plates of Anantadev[193] refer to a 'dāyādavairivyasana; this probably contains a

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191. Kharepatan Plates - C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.19 V.23
192. Ibid No.19 Line 52.
193. Kharepatan plates C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.19 V.24.

reference to his hostilities with the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur, who in that case will have to be considered to be related with Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan. The help rendered by king Vijayāditya of Kolhapur to the Śilāhāra King Aparāditya I of Northern Konkan when hard pressed by Kadambas of Goa, seems to have been prompted by family consideration"[194].

Dr. Mirashi observes, " Mummuni closed his reign in C.A.D. 1070. The Kharepatan plates of Anantadeva 194-A tell us that there was a Civil war (dayāda - vyasana) after the reign of Mummuni, but the contending parties are not named. We have seen before that when Nagarjuna was killed in battle, his son Anantapala was a mere boy, So the throne was occupied by Mummuni. He might have arranged for the succession of his son after himself, as was done by Mangalesa of the Early Chalukya dynasty before him, and Mahadeva of the Yadava family in later times in similar circumstances. As Anantapala did not acquiesce in this superdession, there was a civil war (dayāda-vyasana) in the kingdom. Some scholars take the expression as referring to an invasion of North Konkan by the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur; but they were not dayada (inheritors of common ancestral property) of the Northern Śilāhāras. So this interpretation is not plansible[195].

Dr. Mirashi has rejected Dr.Altekar's view of kinsmen sharing the property on the plea that the Kolhapur Silahara were not 'dāyāda' of the Northern Śilāhāras and hence the interpretation that the struggle between North-Konkan Śilāhāras

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194. I.C.Vol. II N.3 (1936) pp.393-94. 194A. C.I.I.Vol. VI. No 19 V.24.
195. C.I.I.Vol. VI° intro., p.xv (Dr.Mirashi

and the Kolhapur Śilāhāras could not be called a conflict for hereditary rights. Dr. Mirashi however has not expressed any opinion on the point that Kolhapur Vijayāditya rendered help to Aparāditya I when hard pressed by Kadambas. Dr. Altekar feels that the reason for this help was family consideration. There is no expression used in any of the Ganderaditya and Vijayāditya inscriptions to indicate family bonds. The Kasheli copper plate[196] (verse 13) states that the deposed ruler of Thana was restored and the Goa ruler who was liquidated of his position before, was established firmly again. It is stated in the most ordinary terms devoid of any personal affinity. Thus the inference of Dr.Altekar that family considerations prompted Vijayaditya to rush to the help of Anantapal is not well-founded.

In this connection I wish to draw the attention of the scholars to the fact that Kasheli copper-plate which was originally published in 1821 by Capt. James Grant in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, 3.p.391-397 and subsequently examined critically by scholars[197] has to be accepted as true one and thus verse 13, cannot be doubted. The achievements of Vijayāditya are stated with such a supreme unconcern that there is no indication of saving the

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196. Bhôja II's Kasheli Copper plate dated 27.6.1191 C.I.I. Vol. VI No.60 and Prahin Marathi Koriva Lekh ed. S.G.Tulpule p.193.

197. Rajwade, V.K.Bharat Itihas samshodhak Mandal. Annual Report dated sake 1835, p.220-226; Dr.M.G.Dixt re-edited the Marathi version in Marathi Samshodhan. Patrika, year VI Vol.IX p.14. Now Dr.V.V.Marabhi has edited it by supplying a photograph copy of Dr.Taylor's transcript and the Marathi part has been edited with comments by Dr.S.G. Tulpue in his Prachin Marathi Koriva Lekh (1963) pp.193F .

sanctity of religion or something very high and spiritual. It shows a routine programme of powerful monarchs e.g. Arikesari's Thane copper-plates dated 1017 A.D.[198] describes the achievements of Aparājit of North Konkan in verse 14 as welcoming Gomma and giving him protection and strengthening the positions of Bhillama, Ammana and Mambuva. No special importance need be attached to Vijayāditya's contribution.

Dr. Mirashi's conjecture of a disputed succession after the death of Nāgārjuna is one of the possibilities and not the only logical conclusion. Anantapāl in his grants refers to Mūmmūni's death in very respectful terms[199]. This grant he had issued about thirty years after the death of his uncle and there is no indication of bitterness or animosity in the reference. Anantapal had already assumed the full title of Mahamandalesvara in 1081 A.D. as evidenced by his stone inscription of Vihar[200] and the copper plate mentioned above was issued in 1095 A.D. which means fourteen years had passed without any unpleasant event.

Dr. Mirashi wishes to convince us that civil war was endemic in the political system during the silahara period. He gave the previous example of Mangalesh Chalukya and a later example of Mahadeva Yadav. He could have cited the example of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur, where the problem was solved by treating all the brothers as rulers and the eldest one as

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198. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.8 verse 14.
199. Ibid No.19 verse 23.
200. Ibid No.18

the successors of the dead king [201]. In the North-Konkan Śilāhāras family the succession issue was solved on very reasonable lines. A ruling king having more than one son would prefer the elder one as his successor and after his death the other son would follow him and then the son of the elder one e.g. Vappuvana had two sons Jhanjha and Goggi both ruled in that order and than as Jhanjha had no son [202] Goggi's two sons ruled followed by the son of the eldest one namely Aparājit. Thus Dr. Mirashi's examples of Chalukya and Yadav families are irrelevant. Further Vajjada had offered his daughter in marriage to Kadamba ruler of Chandrapur Sastadeva II[203] and settled the dispute with him, his father had provoked (the suzerain as well as their equals) by assuming the little of 'Paschimasundradhipati.' This marriage makes the Kadambas relatives of the Śilāhāras of North-Konkan. Later on we are told in the Narendra Inscription that king Mummuni also offered his daughter in marriage (to) SastadevaII and gave him five lakh gold pieces[204]. The Kadamba king was thus brother-in-law as well as father-in-law of Mummuni[205].

In view of the relations between Kadambas of Chandrapur and Silaharas of Thana the conflict which continued during the time of Anantapāl for the supremacy over the sea can be

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201. Jatiga II had four sons and Marasimha had five sons and all of them figure in the government of the Kingdom as mentioned in Inscriptions CII Vol.VI Nos 43 to 49.
202. Collected works of Bhandarkar, Vol.III p.140. It does not mention anyson of Jhanjha.
203. E.I.Vol. XV.p.333.
204. E.I.Vol.XIII, p.310.
205. Note: This appears strange, but the deplomacy during the Medieval Times treated marriage alliance as one important aspect of deplomacy. Thus although Kadawba ruler S'as'fa II at the time of his marriage with Memmuni's daughter must be very advanced in age probably in his fiflees, he accepted her as a sort of taken of Victory.
206. ~~Jangira copper plate of Aparajit C.I.I.Vol.VI.No.5 verse 31.~~

considered as a conflict between relatives (Dayadvāri Vyasena) for the possession of the Western Sea. The struggle between Kadambas and Silāhāras of North Konkan provided an opportunity to the Arabs who were gaining powerful position at the Court of Kadamba Jay Kesi II (1104-1148 AD). These Arab Muslims wreaked their vengeance on the descendents of Aparajut who had captured their settlement at Sayyan in the beginning of the 11th century (206). Anantapal was therefore left with no alternature but to crush them with all his might.

Anantapāl (1070-1110) - He ruled for about forty years or so. The inital trouble by the henchmen of the Kadambas' however did not ambitter him. He consolidated his position and treated the piratical raid as a misfortune which should be seized by the forelock and turned into a trophy of a glorious Victory. Between the years 1061 to 1095 there is only one Vihar-Stone-instruption to provide some information about his activities It is a four-line inscription which announces grants, some tax relief to one Ajyappa Naik of the Bigadik or Mahadik clan. His Kharepatan grant (207) clearly shows that he had consolidated his position and had assumed the tittle of 'Lord of the Western Sea' and also the doubtless Lord of Lanka. In order to strengthen his armed forces he even appointed an admiral of the fleet as his Chief Minister. His name was Vasaid (208). He was a 'nouvitaka' meaning either Indo-Arab or an expert in navigation or maritime affairs, whether this was a wise move

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206 Janjra copper-plate of Aparajit C.I.I Vol. NO. 5 V. 31.
207. C.I.I. Vol : VI, No.19
208. Ibid line 66. The Muslim name may be Sayed.

on the part of Anantapāl to imitate Kadamble example which was full of many evil consequences, it is difficult to say. The only material benefit that he could get was that he could continue to rule the sea and could ~~be~~ call himself sovereign ruler of the Konkan ' Kunkana Chakravarti[209] (~~209~~).

The new policy of commissioning a new class of administrators - names ending in prabhu[210] (~~210~~) and associating merchant barons like Durgai Sreshtis Sons. Sri Bhamba Sreshti and sri Dharamasreshti with administration gave a different orientation to the pattern altogether.

Anantadeva was the first Śilāhāra ruler to realise the importance of the navy and the coastal trade. The old rigid and narrow view of political economy was discarded and a beginning was made to stimulate investment in trade by giving incentives to those who might have been residents of places other than the capital city. The two merchant ministers the sresbti brothers were residents of Balipattan and not sthanak only. From the time of Anantapal we find that the state was now being called as prosperous and Victorious kingdom (Kalyan - Vijayarajya)[211] Hereafter the kingdom was persistently called 'Kalyān Vijayarajya'. The policy outhned by Anantpala was to be the sheet anchor of the political and economic programme. This policy was to produce good results and his successor behaved in the most

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209. Ibid Line 84.
210. However there is no proof to show that they were Pathare Prabhus as presumed in Bimbakhyan, pp.89-94 ed.by R.P.Rane- and referred to in Bom.City and Island Gaz.Vol.II,pp.15-16.
211. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.19 Line 63.

intelligent manner to exploit the political situation as the dissolution of the Chalukyan hegemony began after the death of Vikramaditya VI in 1126 A.D.

Aparāditya or Aparārka (1110-1140) - The policy followed by Anantapala provoked the Kadamba Jaykesi II of Goa to invade North Konkan and in the war Anantapāla lost his[212] life. Jaykesi kept North Konkan under his control[213] for some time but Aparāditya I was to liberate his kingdom soon after, in 1127 A.D.[214]. Earlier the death on the battle-field of his father and his grandfather had inspired him to greater sacrifices for a cause. He had continued the policy of his father to associate as many people as possible with the struggle for establishing a kingdom worthy of the title of 'Kalyān vijaya' which his poet-minister Lexmanaiya had so proudly used. The poet describes the crisis in the following words[215].

There lived a demon named Chhituka (Kadamba Jaykesi II), all the feudatories gathered round him. He destroyed piety, oppressed the old, all was engulfed in darkness. The people were subjected to severe agonies. The nation was in shambles. Then as a lone saviour Aparāditya rode on his horse and rushed into the fierce battle-field. He shattered the

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212. Degave Inscription. J-B.B.R.A.S., Vol. IX, p. 266.
213. Narendra stone-Inscription dated 1125 & 1126 A.D. Ep.Ind., Vol. XIII, pp. 316 & 383, Ibid pp. 298 & 316.
214. Vadvali Copper-plate grand of dated 21.10.1127 C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 20 V. 20.
Note: Dr. Moraes states that the fallen fortunes of the Northern Konkan Silaharas were only revied by Mallikarguna is however inconsistent with this record but as the vadavali grant was published in 1962 in J.B.B.R.A.S. XXI (old series) (1962) pp. 505f.
215 Vadavali Inscription, C.I.I. Vol. VI, No 20 Verses 20-21.

resistance of the enemy by the power of his arms and the sword. The enemy did not know whether to fight or to flee. Finally the enemy fled the field and sought an asylum with the mlechhas', the foreigners."

The description of the fight needs no further explanation. After this clash the Kadamba chief could not retrieve his position. He had already participated in the grand conspiracy to overthrow the Chalukya overlordship and had joined the Hoyasala front against the Chalukyas. Vikramaditya VI however could crush the confederacy led by Hoyasala Vishnuvardhana (Bittiga). Goa was sacked and [216] burnt. Thereafter the Kadamba power could not regain its lost vigour.

In the war between Śilāhāras and the Kadambas, Kolhapur Śilāhāra Vijayaditya rendered great help to Aparāditya of Thana [217]. Whatever may be the circumstances for the success of Aparāditya it is beyond doubt that his abilities matched his ambition and the legacy he received from his father of defending the national freedom was kept up.

Aparāditya - Aparaditya was a highly enlightened king. He is credited with the writing of the famous commentary [218] on Yajnyavalkya-smriti namely 'Aparārka-tikā.' Another note-

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215. Vadavali Inscription C.I.I.Vol.VI, 20 verses 20 & 21
216. Sastri Nilakanta.K.A.op.cit., pp.184-85.
217. Kasheli grant C.I.I.Vol. VI No.60; Prachin Marathi Koriva Lekh p.193.Note: Although several scholars including V.K. Rajwade,Dixit and Mirashi have admitted the validity of the sanskrit part of the Inscription most of them treat the Marathi portion edited in Prachin Marathi Koriva lekh as spurious.the contents even of the sanskrit portion cannot be verified such as Kolhapur Silahara Vijayaditya helping Thana ruler and restoring the Kingdom of Goa to its rulers viz,Kadambas
218. Aparaśka Tikā Vol.II p.1252.

worthy thing during his reign was that he was not deferred by the clash with Chhituka (Jaykesi II of the Kadamb dynesty). He tried to continue the policy of his father of associating many people with his administration, not only the men of the three varnās [219]. He took a bold step in appointing an envoy named Tejakanṭa[220] at the court of the Jaysimha of Kashmir. He had also sent envoys to the Court of friendly kings. He had invited a high priest (parabrahmana) from Banaras[221] and made an endowment of the revenue including the collection of the House-Tax and also a gift of arecanut orchard. He died after this grant and but he had already asked his younger son Vikramaditya to give him the conveyance deed to the Parabrahmana after he arrived at Pranalaka. He had created this new kingdom of Pranalaka for his son[222].

Vikramāditya (1138 A.D.) - He was the younger son of Aparaditya and Aparaditya had appointed him as a governor of Pranalaka or Panhala Kazi in the Dapoli Taluka of Ratnagiri District. His elder brother Haripaladeva might have been placed in charge of Thane. Whether Aprarāditya divided his kingdom beteween his sons as presumed by Dr.Mirashi[223] is hard to prove. One thing is certain Aparaditya had driven out the Kadambas and saved his kingdom from interference from only

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219. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.20 L.47
220. Makka Srikanthacharita Ch.25 V.109-110.
221. Vikramaditya's Panhala copper plate grand. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.23 Lines 67-72.
222. Ibid,L.38 Note:S.G.Tulpule feels Pronalak is Panvel (Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh p.55)
223. Ibid. intro.p. xviii

any outside power including the Emperor, Someśvesvar III. It seems Aparāditya died suddenly as in the Panhale copper-plate grant a priest (Vipra) Laxmidhara Pandit who composed this inscription refers not only to a short duration of life but a high philosophy[224] of which Apararka alone was capable. "Life is a mystery and an accident. Breath sustains life and breath is merely a wind but wind is not life". Thus Aparāditya's plan might have been upset[225]. by his early death.

Haripàladeva (1139-55 A.D.)- In all four stone-inscriptions of king Haripaladeva, are available between the years 1149 A.D. to 1154 A.D. The places mentioned in these records are all in Thana district and the modern Mahul near Trombay of Bombay suburb. His inscriptions shows the progress of Marathi language and as usually in the stone-inscriptions, there is economy of space, the genealogy of this dynasty is not shown. It is therefore difficult to say with confidence the exact relation between Aparāditya and Haripāla. From the reign of Haripaladeva till the end of Somesvara in 1260 A.D. all the inscriptions are the stone inscriptions. In the Ranjali stone-inscription[226] of 1149 A.D. for the first time it is clearly stated that the gift to Vishnu Upadhyāya of an orchard in Ranjali (Sopara Vishya) was granted with the consente of Devalnayaka and other residents of the village. The second inscription[227]

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224. Ibid No.23 V.32
225. Ibid.
226. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.24

informs us that the revenue from Anevadi village under the charge of a headman Rajanaka was assigned to a priest by the minister of Haripāladeva and the stone-inscription, of 1154 A.D.[228] informs us of the determination of the people to pumsh anti-social elements such as those who destroy public canals. The support of the people and their progressive participation in the public matters is clearly seen.

Mallikarjuna (1155 - 1170 A.D.) - We come across two important stone-inscriptions of this reign. The first is dated 1156 and is a pillar inscription[229]. It announces the appointment of Supraya as the administrator (Dandādhipati) of Panele[230] (Pranālaka) in Dapoli taluka of Ratnagiri district by king Mallikārjuna the other stone-inscription[231] was found in Bassein and refer to the renovation of a Siva temple. Dr. Mirashi interprefes Lonavātak[232] as Lonad which appears rather far-fetched. Lonād was a famous place and the district in which it is situated was mentioned as Mahirihar in the Bhadan plate of Aparajit[233]. The change to Katshadi district and Lonavataka as a village is difficult to accept. Further the ending vatak' suggests an orchard rather than a village.

Further the boundaries of the village are not mentioned. In Aparaditya's Lonad[234] inscription dated 1184A.D. the boundaries of even the field are indicated which means the

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227. Ibid.No.25
228. Ibid No.27 Lines 3-4
229. Ibid No.28
230. Ibid No.28 Line 9, S.G.Tulpule
231. Ibid No.29
232. Ibid NL/14-15, Ibid Introl.p.XVIII
233. Ibid No.7 Lines 56-57
234. C.I.I.vol.VI, No.30 Line 9

tradition of identifying a place by describing the boundaries was not abandoned. It is therefore a garden naned Lonavataka that was donated.

Mallikārajuna's reign witnessed the gradual disintegration of the Chalukya empire. It was during this period that the minister of the Chalukya emperor, Kalachuri Bijjala, executed a coup de'tat' and overthrew Tailap III and come to the throne of Kalyani in 1145[235] A.D. and continued to rule upto 1167 A.D. Śilahara king Vijayāditya[236] of Kolhapur had helped the Kalchuri rebel in the revolution.

War between Mallikārjuna and Kumarapala: The war between the Konkan and the Gurjar rulers is described by Hemachandra in Prakrt Dvyāśraya-kāvya[237]. It states that the King of Thana came out riding his elephant. Then a bloody war ensued between the hostile armies. The enemy's elephant was pierced by the arrows of the Gurjaras, so also the lotus-like, head of the Lord of Konkana was cut off by the soldiers. Hemachandra concludes, " you have earned the royal power of Konkan consisting of seven departments. Thus enjoying the south you are joined to the Sri or Srinagara, Tilanga and Kanci"[238].

A more graphic account is provided by Marutunga[239] in his Prabandha-cintāmani'.It relates once, Kumārapala heard bestowing on the king of the country Mallikarjuna, of Konkana assuming

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235. Bhandarkar, R.G. Early History of the Dekkan, pp.160-165
236. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.60 V.13
237. Hemchandra, Prakrt Dyaśraya Kavya, B.S.S.Poona, 1936 Canto VI, VS. 41-42
238. Ibid, VS, 71-72
239. Merutunga: Prabandha-cintamani, S.J.G.M.I, Calcutta 1933, Eng. Trans.

the biruda of 'Raja-pitāmaha.' Deeply indignant he looked round the assembly and, finding Amrabhata (also known as Ambada, a son of the prime minister Udayana) willing to lead an army to destroy that semblance of a king, appointed him the general of the army and despatched him with all his Chieftains[240].

It is clear from the two accounts that the Gujrat prince invaded Konkan. The reason for this invastion was quite simple, the Gujrat prince Kumarpāla[241] Chalukya could not tolerate the idea that Konkan Śilāhāra should assume the biruda of 'Rayapitamah'. The war took place in 1155 A.D.[242] according to Dr. Gulab Chandra Choudhari. He adduces the evidence of a Jain MS named Prthvicandra-carita (A.D.1155) which gives Kumarapala a title of 'Karnātavayamanamardana Karain'[243]. This is obviously very vague as a Chalukya prince could very easily differentiate between Konkan and Karnata.

Aparāditya II (1170-1195)- The next king to rule North Konkan was Aparāditya. His exact relation with his predecessor is difficult to establish. His four inscriptions[244] discovered at Lonad, Thana, Parel and Nanduri are dated between 1184 and 1197. There is no mention of any suzerain; on the contra-ry he assumed the titles of 'Maharājādhivaj' and 'Konkan a Chakravarti'[245],

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240. Merutunga.-pp.80-81. Note: Mirashi treats 'Rajapitamaha' as Brahmadeva. Śilahara Rajvamsacha Itihas etc, intr., p.35.
241. Merutung Op.cit pp.80-81.
242. Choudhari, G.C.'Politcal History of Northern India from Jain sources (C.650 A.D. to 1300 A.D.) Amritsar 1954,p.272.
243. Merutunga.-p.107
244. C.I.I.Vol.VI,Nos 30-32 and 63.
245. Ibid No.32 Line 3

This is a sufficient proof that the death on the battlefield of Mallikarjuna had not weakened his successor.

The political conditions in the Deccan were in a flux and the rivalry between the Hoyasalas and the Yadavas for the paramountcy in the Deccan was taking a serious turn. Yadav Bhillama V emerged victorious and coronated himself as the emperor of the Deccan in 1187[246]. The Chalukya empire was no more by 1190 A.D.[247] and after that the Chalukyas of Kalyani were ranked merely as petty chiefs. The political vacuum was to be filled up by the Yadavas. The land powers of the Deccan were busy fighting against the Yadavas and therefore the Yadavas could hardly find a respite to demolish the power of the Śilāhāras of Konkan as ~~they had the power of the Śilāhāras of Konkan as~~ they had already ended the rule of Kolhapur Śilāhāras in 1216[248].

Anantadeva II (1195-1200)- He might be the son of Aparaditya II. He was styled the sovereign of the Konkan and Maharaj Anantadeva.

Keśideva II (1200-1245) - In the Choudharipada stone-inscription[249] Kesideva has been described as 'Prithvi-pati' (Sovereign of the world) and son of Apararka. It could not be the famous writer of the commentary on Yajnagavadkya - Apararaka by name, because he died in 1140 and Keśideva who claimed to be

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246. Mardi stone-Inscription S.M.H.D., Vol. I.p.46.
247. Smith, V.A., The early history of India, p.449.
248. Supra.
249. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.36. Line 3.

the son of Apararka must obviously be the son of Aparaditya II (1170-1197). The noteworthy feature of his reign is the end of the Chalukyan sovereignty. The same game of the feudatories availing tehemselves of the opportunity of the collapse of the sovereign power to free themselves in every way and if possible to make a bid to establish their paramountcy over the other powers began.

In all three stone-inscriptions[250] of his reign are available. The first stone-inscription viz Manvi is dated 1204 A.D. and the last viz. Chondharipada Inscription is dated 1240 A.D. which means there is epigraphic proof of his having ruled the Konkan area for at least 36 years.

The growing power of the Yadavas was bound to clash with those who would not reconcile themselves with the changing political status and those who showed capacity to assert their overlordship. The Yadavas had established Devagiri as their capital as referred to in the Khidvapur stone-inscription of Singhana[251]. Further singhana is stated to have destroyed the ruler of Telangana, suppressed the Gurjaras and pulled the hair of Kesi[252]. This does not mention who this 'keśi' was Singhana however had defeated Kolhapur Śilāhāras Bhoja[253] II and imprisoned him in 1212 A.D.

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250. Ibid No.34 Mandavi stone Inscription; No.35 Akshi stone-Inscription; No.36 Choudharipada Inscription.
251. Ibid No.65 Line 9
252. Ambe stone-Inscription S.M.H.D.Vol. I, p.62
253. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XII (Old Series) pp.7f.

Even if we consider Kesi as Kesideva of North Konkan the Mardi stone-inscription does not indicate that Simghana had defeated him. It only indicates that Kesideva was checked by him (He pulled the hair of Kesi means a hairy man).

At the end of his reign however Kesideva had to submit before the Vaghela chief Visaldeva. The vaghelas were described as the moving spirit of Jainism[254]. Anantadeva III (1245-1255 A.D.). He succeded Kesideva and only one record of his reign is available and that is the stone inscription[255] of Dive Agar dated 1254 which mentions the gift of an orchard by Anantadeva's feudatory Ram. The Śilāhāras of Konkan had to face a very critical time as the Yadavas were sweeping off all minor powers during this time. Bhillam V Yadav had become the Emperor and was driving out the Kalchuris from their traditional stronghold that is sholapur district[256]. Incidently some of the minor silahara rulers were suppressed during this period.

Somesvara (1255-1265) - He was the last king of the Silahara dynasty of North King. Only two stone-inscription[257] of his reign are available. He had assumed the titles of Maharajadhiraj, and Konkana Chakravarti.

The growing power of the Yadavas would not tolerate

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254. Choudhari, G.B., op.cit, p.309
255. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.37
256. S.M.H.D.Vol.I, p.43
257. C.I.I.Vol.VI, Nos 38(Ranvad Inscription) and No.39 (Change Inscription)

the existence of petty states and hence the ambitious Yadava king Krishna III sent his commander of the army Malla by name to invade the Konkan territory. It seems somesvara was defeated[258] but the Yadava ruler could not exploit the situation to his advantage. The Yadavas could not therefore liquidate the Silaharas in their first attempt.

Yadav Krishna's brother Mahadeva continued the war with the Silaharas. The war between Mahadeva and Silahara Somesvara is described by Hemadri[259] and the scene of this great battle is sculptured on the Virgal found near Borivli Station[260]. It is a naval war that is shown on the stones. Mahadeva Yadav chased him to Gharapuri fort. It seems finally Somesvara was drowned as Hemadri[261] describes it . The battle took place in 1265 A.D.

Remarks : The end of the Konkan Silaharas came in the course of a long struggle with the sovereign power of the Yadavas. Someśvara was the fourth King from the Śilāhāras line in North Konkan to die fighting on the battlefield in defence of national freedom. They ruled from 800 A.D- to 1265 A.D. which by any consideration is a very long period. They fought against their equals like the rulers of Lata[262] Chalukyas of Gujrat[263] and Kadambas of Goa[264]. They fought against their Kinsmen[265]. They put up a stiff fight against the Suzerain Chalukya Jaysimha[266] I and also Krishna and

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258. H.C.I.P.Vol.V, p.192
259. Hemadri, Chaturvargachintamani.
260. Cousens, Medieval Architecture in the Deccan, p.21
261. Hemadri Ibid Verse 18.
262. Janjira Plate of Aparajit C.I.I. Vol.VI, No.5 Lines 40-42
263. Kumarapala Charita, 6 V.53.
264. C.I.I. Vol.VI, No.20 Lines 32-35
265. Ibid No.19, Lines 52-55,
266. Ibid

They put up a stiff fought against the Suzerain Chalulkya a Jaysimha[267] I, and also Krishna and Mahadeva Yadavas.[267]

The Silahaas of Konkan tried to build a navy under Aparajit and Anantapala but the determined opposition by the Kadambas and the Arab-merchants[268] forced them to cut down their plans.

There were illustrious persons like Aparajit who extendéd the Kingdom, Nagarjun who faced Chalukya emperior Someśvara I when he mobilised all his feudatories and invaded his Kingdom, Anantapala a wise planner and Aparaka a versatile genins. They went down fighting for a cause, for upholding their religion faith and the culture against the machinations of the Jaina ministers of the neigjbouring kingdoms and the sea-robbers and the overseas merchants. They set an example for the subsequent generations to sacrifice themselves in the cause of national freedom.

Kolhapur Śilāhāras:

There are in all ninteen Inscriptions of Kolhapur Silaharas so far published. They relate to the years from A.D. 940 to A.D. 1194, a period of 254 years roughly the same as that of the South Konkan Śilāhāras who ruled between A.D. 965 to A.D. 1024. The inscriptions of the South Śilāhāras available upto date, are only three in number and they were issued by the last two kings of the dynasty between A.D. 988

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267. Ind.Ant., Vol.VIII, p.18
268. E.p.Ind., Vol. XIII, p.369.

and A.D.1010. However, the Inscriptions issued by the Kolhapur Silaharas range between the years A.D.1058 and A.d.1193. They cover a wide range of events and a period of about a century and a half with seventeen rulers enjoying various degrees of political authority under the Chalukya suzerains.

The rise of the Kolhapur Śilāhāras was in the middle of the 10th Century A.D. and that period was obviously the declining phase of the Rashtrakuta Empire. They claimed their descent from Jīmūtavāhan Vidyadhar and asserted their Kshatriya[269] birth and claimed "Suryavams'a or sun-race[270] (Khachar vamsa). They styled themselves as Tagaranagar bhupala-Lords of the city of Tagara and had the Golden Eagle as the Cognizance on their ensign or flag[271]. In the Kolhapur grant of king Gandaraditya dated A.D. 1185[272] to a subordinate chief Nolamba, the genealogy of the Kolhapur dynasty is traced[273] In verse 4 of this grant, it is mentioned that the founder of the dynasty, Jatiga I was the maternal uncle of Ganga Permandi Marasimha, and that Jatiga was a governor of the fort of Gomantha. The following information can be gathered from their inscriptions.

The views of B.R.Gopal [274] are worth considering in this matter. According to him the statement of Dr.Mirashi that

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269. Vijayaditya's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription dated 1043 A.D. C.I.I., Vol. VI, No.53 Line.
270. Marasimha's Miraj copper-plate, Ibid. No.43, Line 9
271. Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate, Ibid.No.48,Line 17
272. Ibid No.46
273. Table p.168
274. Gopal, B.R.Minor dynasties of Karnataka p.148.

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Ganga Marasimha II (Permanudi) placed Jatiga I in Charge of Shimoga territory stands unsubstantiated. Further he says " Nothing much is known about the three successors, Nay-ivarma, Chandra and Jatiga II. The Miraj plates of his grandson Marasimha[275] describes him as the lion of the fort of Panhela (Panala duragadri-simha) and the lord of the city of Tagara. His son Guhala was a favourite of Satyasraja, the later chalukya king. But this is not known otherwise, but Gonka, the successor of Jatiga II is said to have been ruling over the Karhata (Karad) Kundi region (Belgaum) Miringadesa and the whole of Konkan. It has been assumed that this chief assisted Chalukya Jayasimha I in his conquest of Konkan in C-1024 A.D. as is clear from the latter's Miraj plates[276]. But this assumption of Mirashi is also not acceptable." His brother Guval, as seen above, is stated to have been favourite of Satyāśraya, a predecessor of Jayasimha I and it cannot be explained how the elder brother came to assist a later king almost 15 years thereafter"[277].

I wish to point out that "Satyaśrayasya kramapūjanéstah" (V.6) would not mean that Guvala was the fourite of Satyasraya. Sovereign, but it is a poetic way of the secretary who composed the inscription; to describe Guvala as always giving preference to truthfulness and justice. There is no achievement of Guval reported to prove his intimacy with the Chalukya Suzerain

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275. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.43.
276. Ibid, Verse 5 & 6 Gopal B.R.Op.cit. pp.129 ff,
277. Ibid, p.148.

Further there would be a respectful reference to Satyasraya with some Biruda and 'Sri' before his name as is done in the case of Vikramaditya VI in Kolhapur plates of Gandaraditya[277-A] C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.46 Line 18 (Chakravartisri Vikramaditya narendra. In the absence of this we may safely interprete the phrase as a austomany praise.

Genealogy

Jatiga I C.A.D. 940-960

Nayivarman C.A.D. 960-980

Chandra C.A.D. 980-1000,

Jatiga II C.A.D. 1000-1020

- Gonka C.A.D.1020-1060
  - Marasimha C.A.D. 1050-1075 (Known date A.D.1058)
    - Guhala II C.A.D.1075-1100
    - Ballata C.A.D.1100-1108
    - Gonka II
    - Bhoja I
    - Gandarāditya C.A.D.1108-1138 (known dates A.D.1110 1115, 1118, 1128, 1135)
      - Vijayaditya (C.A.D. 1138-1175) (known dates 1142, 1153)
        - Bhoja II C.A.D. 1175-1212. (known dates 1182, 1190 1191, 1192, 1194, 1205)
- Guhala I
- Kirtiraj
- Chandraditya

277-A C.I.I. Vol, No 46 Line 18_ Chakravarti Vikramāditya narendra.

Capitals

(1) Khiligila (Inscription No.43 Lines 31-32)
Pfanalaka (" No.59 Line 1)
Padmanâla (" No.60 Line 31)
(2) Kshullakapûra (" No.53 Line 19)
Kolhapur (" No.49 Line 20 and 25)
(3) Valavada (" No.54 Line 11 No.58 Line 19)
Valivade -

Also Karahataka was believed to be the original capital as mentioned by D.C.Sircar.

Jatiga I (C.A.D.940-960) - The founder of the Kolhapur house before becoming the Governor of the fort had some social status as his sister was married into the Ganga family which had acquired great fame before the rise of the Rastrakutas[278]. Jatiga's forebears must have attracted the attention of the Rashtrakutas as they were politically active in the neighbourhood of Karhataka i.e. Karad. Although during the period covered by the Inscriptions available at present. They were ruling from Kolhapur and it precints, they are referred to as the rulers of Karahāta in the literary works[279]. Karhāataka had also special attraction for the Nofth -Konkan Śilàhāras as they mostly chose their priests from Kahataka[280]. Further the Kolhapur Śilàhàras took special pleasure in referring to themselves as conquerors of the

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278. Krishna M.U. The gangas of talakad p.1
279. Bilhana, Vikramankadevachanta cantos VIII and IX
280. Mummuchis copper-plate, C.I.I.Vol. VI No.14 Lines 61, 104, 118 etc.

mountaineous territory[281] (Giridurga Langhana). In the absence of records we cannot gather more information about Jatigas exploits. His south Konkan contemporary Śilāhāra Bhima's policy of capturing Chandramandala[282] and North Konkan Śilāhāra Goggiraj eulogised as the protector of members of the clan[283] (Rakshita Gotrapaksha) may imply that the Śilāhāra clans was not altogether devoid of the clanish affinity. The discription of Jhanyha in the Jinjira a plate as one who manifested the great glory of the race[284] may be considered in this cotext.

Nayivarman(C 960-980) - No special events during his reign are known but his description as "Lord of the Vidyadharas, whose body was marked with saffron - paste of the breasts of the Karnata ladies[285] is rather strange. The name of the writer is not mentioned. It must have been a customary way of praising a king who enjoyed a full life in a healthy way. Why the Karnata ladies should be mentioned is again a moot point. It may mean he preferred Karnataka ladies in his herem.

Chandra (C 980-1000) only conventional praise is bestowed on him. His reign was peaceful.

Jatiga II (C.1000 - 1020) - He is described as a

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281. Gandaraditya's Talele copper plate C.I.I.Vol.VI No.45 L.22 No.53 Line 13 No.54 L.9
282. Kharepattan plates of Rattaraja No.41 verse 19.
283 Bhadan grant of Aparajit No.7 verse 18.
284. Jinjir a plate of Aparajit op cit No.5 verse 20.
285. Gandaidhara's Kolhapur Plates op.cit No.46 V.4

great warrier who commanded a troop of elephants[286]. In Marasinha's Miraj copper plate he is described as the lion in the hill-forts of Pannala[287]. Jatigas skill in handling the elephant wing might be extraordinarily competent hence the praise.

The beginning of the 11th century was very eventful throughout India. In the North, Sultan Mahamad had started his vietorious march into Punjab and Rajasthan. In the South Rajaraja I Chola (985-1016 A.D.) and Satyasraya Chalukya (998 - 1009 A.D.)[288] were engaged in a deadly combat. The king of Malwa that is central India, Sinduraja Parmara (997-1010 A.D.) was continuing the struggle with the Chalukyas which was to be intensified by his successor the Great Parmara Bhoja I (1011-1055).

Jatiga II tried to strengthen his position by taking the advantage of the unsettled conditions. Dr.Mirashi believes that Jatiga II strengthened his position by means of political alliance. He quotes "Dvyasraya - kavya (VI-32) of Hemachandra which states that Kolhapura king sent presents of excellent rubies to Chamundarāja[289], the Chalukyas king of Gujrat (C 995-1008). The Kadambas already had matrimonial alliance with Gujrat Chalukyas. He also states that Chalukyas of Kalynai had given that tacit consent to the expansive policies of Jatiga as they were fighting a war with

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286. Ibid, V.6
287. Ibid, No.43 V.3
288. E.C.VIII, Sb. 234, p.76
289. C.I.I.Vol. VI intro p.X x VII

the Parmaras and cholas. The question arises, in what way would the Gujrat Chalukyas strengthen the position of Karhataka-Kollapura Śilāhāras when they themselves were living under the shadow of the contest between Parmaras of Malwas and the Chalukyas of Kalyani and their wars with Cholas? Secondly Dr. Mirashi's guess that Satyaśraya Chalukya might have consented to Śilāhāra policy of expansion also is not acceptable. Whey did he not ask him to join his forces directly? The territory in the neighbourhood of Karhata-Kolhapur did not belong to the Cholas. It is during this period that Aparājit[290] of North Konkan had restored Bhillama of Seunadesh (Khandesh) to his kingdom. They were the allies of Taila II. It would be dangerous for Jatiga II to establish diplomatic alliance with a distant power when the attitude of the intervening kingdom was not favourable. The present or a gift may be a customary respect shown to the other kings especially when cultural contacts were established. These cultural contacts may be established by an invitation to eminent scholars or poets or a visit to temples. It is therefore clear that Jatiga II was acting on his own and his son Gonka was to establish a larger kingdom in the days that followed.

Gonka I (1020-1050) According to Mārsimha's Miraj plates[291]. Gonka his father, was the Lord of Karahataka-kundi region, the Mirinjadesh, and the whole kingdom of the Konkan.

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290. Aparajit's Janjira copper-plate Ibid No.5 verse 32.
291. C.I.I.Vol. VI intro. P XXVII No.43. V.5

If we would believe this claim it would mean that practically half of the Western Maharashtra and part of Karnataka was under his sway. If we examine his claim a little closely we will find that Karad-Satara was ruled by the Sindas and Aparajit of the Northern Konkan Śilāhāra claimed his power over the whole Western coast from Lata (South Gujrat) to chandrapur (Goa)[292]. Further he restored so many kings to their kingdoms and supported them in time of need[293]. This only shows that the fortunes of the big and small kings of the Deccan were in the balance, nobody knew which side the scale was tilting. Their panegyrist however were having wonderful dreams; may be under the influence of some prophesy. The tantric cult had already invaded the south and the Yogi's and the Pasuputas had already got access to the royal household. King Marasindha in 1058 A.D. had donated a large endowment to a Pasupal[294]. Aparajit of the North Konkan had asked his son Prince Ankesari to visit Somnath in the beginning of the 11th century[295]. Rattarāja of South Konkan had invited Atreya of Pāśupata preceptor[296].

There was something in the air at that time which moved the Southern powers to action. It may be tantrism or it may be the invasion of Sultan Mahomad in the beginning of the 11th century.

Gonka had three brothers and Guval had ingratiated

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292. Jinjira plates of Aparajit, C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.5 V.32
293. Jhana plates of Ankesari, Ibid No.8 verse 14
294. Miraj plate of Mirasinha Ibid No.43 Vol. 13-14
295. Thana plate Ibid No.8 verse 16.
296. Kharepatan plate Ibid No.41 Line 52 to 56.

himself with the Emperor Satyaśraya Chalukya[297]. The Silaharas of Kolhapur seemed to have followed the policy of, one member exploiting the political situation, and another member to curve out a principality, and at the same time, and third member to maintain. The correct relations with the sovereign.

It must be pointed out in this connection that there are no charters or grants issued between 997 A.D. and 1017 A.d. by the North Kokan Śilāhāras. The Kolhapur Inscriptions are all dated after 1058 A.D. The only available Silahara records are those of Rattaraja of the South Konkan Silaharas namely dated 1008 and 1010. They refer to the maritime activities of the merchants.

The Kadamba Sashtadeva who had married. Chalukya Princes Akkadevi rose to some eminence during the years 1008 A.D. to 1042 A.D. Gonka's reference to his exapansion towards Konkan would mean that he would have to clash with the Kadambas. It may be remembered that North Konkan Silahara Aparajit had already assumed the role[298] of the saviour of minor powers and his tittle Mahòdadhimalagaldanda[299] implies that he had established his supremacy over the Western-Coast. The title of "Udagra Konkanamahādesha"[300] by Jatiga II of Kolhapur implies that he came in the possession of South Konkan after the collapse of the Kindom of Rattaraja.

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297. Miraj plates of Marasimha Ibid No.43 Line 14
298. Jinjira plates of Aparajit C.I.I.Vol. VI No.5
299. Ibid.
300. Ibid No.43 Lines 11-12

In the Kolhapur Incription dated 1115 A.D.[301] the description of Govvka and his younger brother Guvala as "vairikuladrivajyrou" (Thunderbolts to the Chief mountains that were their foes) implies that the two sons of Jatiga II were performing outstanding exploits. In the Talele plates dated 1118 A.D.[302] the three brothers are mentioned as Gonkaraja, King Guvala who Vanguished a number of enemies and his brother king kirtiraja the conquerror or his enemy. Dr. Mirashi expresses the view[303] that since they are mentioned as kings they must have succeeded Gonka one after the other. This is not probable and Mirashi explains that as they belonged to the royal family and were ruling over some portion of the Silahara Kingdom they might have been styled as kings. This is rather intriguing. Later on in the case of five sons of Marasimhava, viz. Guhala II Gonka II Ballala, Bhoja, I and Gandarāditya. The seem to have been the rulers of different provinces of the Kingdom[304]. But some of them actually came to the throne. Mirashi dismisses the claims of the younger brothers of Gonka I as also Gonka II on the grounds that grants issued by them are not available. This may bea a very weak ground. As out of the several names of silahara rulers of Kolhapur that appear in the eighteenth Inscriptions.

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301. Ibid No.46 verse 6
302. Ibid No.43 verse 3
303. Ibid intro; p.XXIX
304. Ibid Intro; p.XXX

Only four members of the house had issued Charters and those are available now[305]. The Honnure image[306] Inscription describes Ballal as 'Mahamandaleśvara' whereas Gandaraditya does not hold any position of power and is simply mentioned as Gandaraditya. The grant of 200 Kamma of land was in the names of both of them. The inscription is not dated. If the act of issuing inscriptions was the only criterion then Ballal was a king in his own rights, whereas those whose inscriptions are not available should be regarded as rulers without being kings. There were two other elder brothers, Guval II and Gonka II who should betreated as persons without political status and Bhoja I whose exploits were many should be treated merely a member of the royal family for lack of inscriptions in his name. On the contrary, Gandaraditya probably the youngest of them all, should be considered as a legitimate king because his grants are available to us.

Secondly Guhala I is mentioned as a favourite of Chalukya Emperor Satyāśraya as Guhala honoured his feet[307]. His elder brother Gonka I was claiming the conquests of Karad Belgaum, Miraj and the great country of Konkan[308]. Guhala is mentioned merely a prince (nripa) whereas Gonka is a king (nripati). This shows that the young prince was closer to the Emperor and Gonka's position depended upon that favour[308].

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305. Inscriptions of Marsimha one; gandaraditya's six; Vijayaditya's six; and Bhoja II's three.
306. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.44.
307. Ibid., No.43, Verse 6.
308. Ibid., verse 5.

A similar instance may be cited here. Bhoja I, the younger son of Marasimha had ingratiated himself with the Chalukya Emperor Vikramaditya VI by offering the head of Santara Kadamba for worshipping his feet[310] and he was referred to as nripalaka[311] (king) subsequently the whole discussion boils down to one point; that there are different terms used as equivalent to the word 'king' and their meanings are not clear. We presume that nripa is a prince nripati is a king and nripalaka and Bhupati are considered as kings. They are so indiscriminately used in the inscription that Marasimha is referred to as 'nripa' in the Kolhapur plate[312] whereas he is referred ~~he is referred~~ to as 'nripati' in Gandarādityas Kolhapur inscription[313]. A few instances of how the same person at one place is mentioned as 'Raja' and at another place by some other title as narendra, nripa, nripati or Bhūpati are furnished below[314]. It is therefore difficult to prove whether the usual pattern of the eldest son becoming the king and the other sons treated as merely princes was followed during this period. The contention of Dr. Mirashi that of the availability of Charters or grants of these persons[315] leaves many things to chance. Every member of the royal family

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310. Ibid., Verse 10
311. Ibid No.48 Line 10.
312. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.48 Line 9
313. Ibid No.46 L.13
314. List of terms attached. Appendix 'A'
315. Ibid intro.p.XXIX "It appears very doubtful if these brothers of Gonka ruled askings. For no grant of any of them has yet been discovered " V.V.Mirashi.
316. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.12 Chamundaraj a feudatory of chittaraja styled himself as Mahamandalesvara' Line 9, Ibid No.50 V.8 The question asked is who is greater than samanta Nimba ? He was a feudatory under Kolhapur Silahara King Gandaraditya.

like any other member of the Society could make endowments and donations and the subordinate chiefs or the feudatories under the Śilāhāra rulers both of Kolhapur and of North Konkan could also issue Charters[316] with high sounding titles. Thus the availability or the absence of Charters should not be made the deciding factor.

The point regarding Guhala I being favourite to the Emperor Satyāśraya and Bhoja I worshipping the feet of Emperor Vikramaditya VI lead us to conclude that there might be a practice of co-rulers after the pattern of the Śaka-Kshatrapas. Thus two or three brothers could rule different areas of their kingdom at the same time and each one was allowed to style himself as a king. It is for this reason that there is no struggle for throne betewween Gonka and his three brothers and Guhala II and his four brothers.

It appears from the Miraj plates of Chalukya king Jayasimha dated A.D.1024[317] that he had conquered South Konkan and was encamped at Kolhapur in the course of his compaign in the North. We do not find any epigraphic evidence of a war between Rattaraja of the South Konkan and the Suzerain Chalukya Jaysimha[318] or the Goa Kadamba who wanted to extend his Kingdom. We cannot ignore the possibility of a palace revolution. The ministers of the King except the

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317. Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p.18
318. Miraj plate dated A.D. 1024 E.I.Vol. XII.p.303
Note: Jaysimha II seized all the possessions of the Chiefs of the Konkan and was in Victorious camp in the neighbourhood of Kolhapur and was planning further conquests of Northern territories.

poet-writer Lokaparya may not have liked the growing infatuation of King Rattaraja with the Tantric School. Lokaparya's father Devapala appeared to be a follower of Jainism and his partymen might have established contacts with the Kadambas who were inclined towards Jainism and also Chalukya Jaysimha who needed some prefext to annex the prosperous ferritory of the South Konkan. Besides the expanding trade and the importance of the navy was a great support for Jaysimha's empire. The Cholas who were the sworn enemies of the Chalukyas upto the eleventh century and the middle of the twelfth, were a great maritime power. It was therefore necessary to seize the important ports and see that trusted and efficient man were placed in the key position with a view to avoiding future disaster.

There is however one point which needed some explanation. Why did Jaysimha hand over the South Konkan region to the Kolhapur Śilāhāra[319] when he could have placed his own relatives as port officers on the South Konkan Coast? The aggressive policy of Aparājet and his younger son Arikesari can be understood in this context as a grand plan to check the Chalukya Kadamba League. The Cholas had been fighting against the Chalukyas and the Kolhapur Śilāhāra might have fought hard on the side of Chalukyas against the Cholas. The Kolhapur Śilāhāras had to be rewarded for such a support hence the South Konkan region was temporarily handed over to Kolhapur Śilāhāras. The years between 1019 to 1024 AD were eventful. The conflict between Chalukya Javjasimha and Parmara Bhoja was indecisive as their claims of Victory are doubtful[320] and only show that the

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319. C.I.I.Vol.-VI, intro., p xxix.
320. I.A.V.p.15-17.Chalukya Jayasimha in his Belagamve Inscription dated 1017 AD claimed victory over Parmara Bhoja., E.I.Vol XI p 182,Bhoja Parmara celebrated victory over Konkan as per Kalvanplates

conflict continued. The sitahara chiefs were obviously involved in the conflict as the was fought in the region bordering on the countries held by them. Gonka must have helped the Chalukya suzerain to fight against the inveders from the South - Cholas - and Parmaras from the north[321]. Gonka improved his position and could assume the tittle of [illegible][322]. Further Gonka is described as the ruler of Karad, Belgaum, Mirinja and Konkana desh. His brother Guhala assumed the tittle of Nav-Saha Sanka as he was the favourite of Chalukya Satyasraza [323]. Marasimha (1050 - 1075) He used the tittle of Katijugm Vikaramaditya[324]. He was considered to be a great ridex[325]. He was personable. His capital was Khiligila, We can gather this information from his Miraj copper plate grantdated 1058 AD.[326]. The great political event during his reign was the battle of Koppam between the Chola King Rejendra II and Chalukya - Āhavamalla in 1054 AD. and the erection of Victory pillar by the Cholas at Kolhapur.[327]. Dr. Mirashi says that after the battle of Koppam, Chalukya Somesvara I must have sought shelter in South Konkan which was under the rule of his fendatory Marasimha[328].

Mārasimha had made a grant of the Village of Kuntavada to a discriple of the Pasupata ascetic Brahmesvara Pandita

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321. Ibid
322. C.I.I.Vol.VI Inscription No. 43 verse 5.
323. Ibid and Verse 7.
324. Ibid line 29/30
325. Ibid. Verse 11
326. Ibid.
327. Yardani The Early History of the Deccan Part I-VI.P 338; Munimangala Inscription dated 1055 AD.
328. Article by Mirashi V.Van. Vogel Commemoration Volume.

for the worship of Śiva, panchayatana. The influence of Pasupatas was slowly pervading in southern Maharashtra may be as a consequence of contact with South Konkan which was appropriated now by the Chalukyas and held as a fief by Kolhapur Śilāharas [329].

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Kadamba King Jaykesi I in his Panaji copper plate grant dated 1059 A.D., indirectly refers to the enemies who were following the evil courses (kā-tantra)[330] Kadamba ruler of Goa Jaykesi I had granted a village Laghu - Morambika which was nearly a waste land to the Arab Chhadam, son of Madhumad. The family history of Chhadam is given in verses 21 and 22. Chhadam belonged to the Tajik race and was a "Navvillaka". One meaning, is a sailor by profession and the other meaning, as pointed out by Dr. Dixit is the 'Navāyat'. This community was of a mixed race of Indo Arabs, who came to India from Siraf, Oman and other places and settled on the Western-Coast of India [331]. This Arab family of Chhadam was originally settled in Chemulya[332] which was a great trading centre.

It is worth remembering that one Madhumad who is

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329. Chalukya Jaysimha's Miraj plate dated A.D. 1024 E.I.Vol. XII p.303.
330. Panaji apper-plate grant of Kadamba Jaykesi I dated Saka 981 (5th July 1059 A.D.) ed. M.G.Dixit. sources of Medieval History of the Deccan Vol. IV (1951) No.82 verse 19 p.37. Dr. Dixit takes Katantra to mean a system of grammer.
331. Al Masudi Elliot & Dowson Vol. I p.24
332. Panaji plate, op-cit verse 21

mentioned here as the father of Chhadam, was one of the heads of the trading guilds of Sanjan who were invited by a subordinate chief of North Konkan Śilāhara ruler Chhittaraja[333]. This means that the Arab traders were playing a very pivotae role in the maritime affairs of the rulers of the Western coast of India during the 10th and 11 centuries. The Kadambas and the Śilāhāras of North Koṅkan must be competing with one another to attract them to their side. The reference to Chemulya - Chandrapura, as marked out by the South-Konkan Śilāhāras in Rattaraja's grant[334] for a special priviledge also leads to the conclusion that the Arab traders and sailors who had practically established their mastery under the socalled protection of the rulers Rashtrakutas and Chalukyas,and their feudatories Kadamba and Śilāhāras,confirms the statement of Dr.Dixit that Kadambas had a large share in establishing Arab strong holds on the Western coast? So Mirasingh of Mollapur was no match for kadamba Jaykesi I.

The Kadamba rulers were ready to displace the nationals in favour of the Arabs[335] (S.Svadeśaśachivan Tyaktvā) i.e. ignoring the ministers of this nation. Jaykeshi

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333. Chamunduraja's Chichani Copper-plate grant during the reign of North Konkan Śilāhāra king chittaraja dated 15th September 1034 A.D. C.I.I. Vol. VI No.12 Lines 9 to 12.
334. Pange's plate op.cit intro. p.33.
335. O. Oriente Portugesea monthly. No.22 pp.6-18 ed. Prof.Pisurlekar V. 1938

had appointed Chhadam as his minister. Marasimha of Kolhapur Silahara house could not ingratiate himself with the Arabs of the stature of Chhudam & thus he could not claim Konkan as Jaykesi I was his contemporary. The Chalukya Emperor Someśvara I could hardly have preferred Kolhapur ruler of bill-fort of Khilgila to the ruler of the Gopakadvipa. Thus Someśrara after his Koppam disaster must have sought the help of Kadamba Jaykesi I (1052-80) rather than the Kolhapur Silaharas who at the most could afford protection on the land. The claim of Jatiga II his grand father to the rulership of the whole of Konkan is doubtful, as the grandfather of Chhadam Arab, Allah by name was co-operating with Guhala I of the Kadamba family[336]. The end of the South Konkan Silaharas must thus be seen in the light of these events along with the powerful naval challenge from the Cholas in the South & the Paramara land forces from the north[337].

The second important event in the reign of the Kshitipati Mārasimha[338] was the marriage of his daughter Chandralekha of peerless beauty with the Chalukya prince Vikramaditya[339]. Dr. Mirashi identifies the Vidyadhare princess with the daughter of Marasimha and the Chalukya prince with Vikramāditya VI[340]. The Śilāhāra king is referred

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336. Moraes G.M. Kadamba kula pp.168-170 & 186
337. Kalvan plates, E.I., Vol.I.p.235 V.19: E.I.Vol.XIX, pp.71-72II6-7
338. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.45 V.4
339. Bihana, Vikramankadeva Charita, cantos VIII and IX
340. C.I.I.Vol. VI intro., p.xxx

to as a king of Karad (Karahataka) in the 'Vikramānkadeva-charita'. It could not be a poetic fancy as the event of the 'syayamvara' (marriage of a princess by open selection) was also discribed in Rājatarangini of Kalhana[341] king Marasimha[342] himself was extraordinarily handsome and his daughter chandralekha might be equally handsome as described by the poet.

The relations between the Śilāhāras with the Chalukyas of Kalyani would obviously be very cordial. The increasing importance of the Śilāhāras of Kolhapur at the court of Chalukya could thus be easily understood.

However the whole matter stands on a flimsy inference that Karad princess was the daughter of Marasimha. That she was a Vidyadhari' is told to us in the 'Vikramānkadevacharita ' but the Sindas of Karad were still ruling in that region[343]. In the second place Vikramāditya VI had married the daughter of Kadamba Jaykesi I [344] before he became the Emperor'. Thus the relation between the two families were not of great political significance.

Mārasimha had five sons in all [345]. They were Guvala, Gangadeva, Ballaladeva, Bhojadeva and Gandaraditya. Out of these five Bhoja and Gandaraditya attained great fame. The other three Guhala, Ganga and Ballala receive customary

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341. Kalhana, Rajatarangini, Taranga VII VV 1119 f.
342. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.43 Line 24-25 and 30(described as Kamo Rupaprasanna)
343. Ep.Ind.Vol.XXV,pp.164f.
344. Ep.Ind. Vol. XIII p.310
345. C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.53 Lines 5-6

praise. Guvala has been described as an ocean of political wisdom and the sole centre of war-like qualities, a much feared prince[346]. It seems he succeeded Marasimha as he has been described as superior king[347].

Ballala (C.1100-1105) - The Honnur image inscription[348] refers to Ballala as Mahamandaleśvara'. This means after his father, Ballala became the king as in the same plate Gandaraditya's name occurs without any titles.[349] In the Talele plates of Gandaraditya[350] dated 1110 A.D. the names of the four out of five brothers are given. In the three Charters of Gandaraditya and in Bhoja II's Kasheli Charter[351] the names of Guhala and Bhoja appear together and Ballala and Gandaraditya are mentioned together in Talele copper-plates[352]. This may point to the fact that Mārasimha might have these five sons[353] and daughters from different wives and Guhala and Bhoja might be step-brothers of Ballala and Gandaraditya. The latter two were Mahamandalesvaras as is evidenced from their charters. The Honnur Inscription confirms that Ballala and Gandaraditya go together; Ballala i s referred to as 'Kshitipa sadaiva[354].

Gandaraditya (C 1105 - 1140 A.D.) - Gandaraditya is the only king in whose name as many as seven Charters were

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346. Ibid., No.45 V.5
347. Ibid., V.8 'Bhupalavaro Narendra'
348. 'Honnur' image inscription C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.44 Line 2.
349. Ibid.
350. Ibid,No.45 Lines 8-12
351. Ibid No.60 Line 7
352. Ibid., No.45 Lines11-13
353. Ibid.,No.53 Lines 5-6
354. Ibid., No.60 V.7

issued between the years 1111 to 1136 A.D. and thus he may be regarded as the only 'defacto' ruler after Marasimha. He had won the favourw of Chalukya Emperor Vikramaditya VI[355] and had received the title of "Nissanka Malla" fearless wrestler from his suzerain. His exploits are praised by his feudatory Nolamba when he received the gift of Adage village with two other small ones. He is stated to have slain the chief of Belgaum (Kundidesh) and captured the rich and excellent kingdom. The ocean offered him jewels, thin garmen ts and horses as the shipments were continuous. He appropriated the treasure of South Konkan ruler Rattaraja. The scribe therefore concludes that blessed were those men and animals and the land where such a glorious king ruled. This explains how Gandaraditya came innthe possession of an immense wealth which he spent for religious purposes[356].

In his Talele copper-plate he is said to be firmly established in Konkan (line 24). The grant is dated 5th May 1110 A.d. This is the time when Aparaditya or Apararka came in possession of North Konkan (Aparanta) kingdom. King Pinatapala in his Kharepatan Copper-plate grant of 9th January 1095 A.D.[357] makes a reference to "Dāyādvairivyasana" conflict between kinsmen for (pattimony) patromony[358]. Before examining the different views on this episode let us study Gandariditya's Talele inscription[359]. In verse 8 Gandaricitya's

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355. Ibid., No.46 V.16.
356. Ibid No.45 Lines 28-31
357. Anantadewas' grant dated saka 1016 or A.D. 1095 C.I.I. Vol.VI., No.19
358. Ibid. V.24
359. Ibid. No.45

is stated to have shone for a long time which means he had acquired administrative experience during the long period of his father's reign. All his brothers appear to be grown up at the time of the death of the father as Guhala II is described as an ocean of political wisdom, and Ballala was cupid to beautiful women. Bhoja was a romantic hero forcing many kings to surrender to his mighty arm; Gandārāditya governed Mirinja country together with the seven 'Khollas' and Konkana where he protected the good and crushed the wicked.

Now Anantapala in his above mentioned Kharepatan grant not only refers to conflict between kinsmen but also explains that the conflict was exploited by the fierce and vile solders of Munyavana and they perfetrated all sorts of indignities on priests and Gods throughout the borders of Konkana[360]. It was Anantapala who suppressed them and enhanced the glory of his ancestors. There is no mention of any assistance to Anantapala in his single handed efforts to hold the sacriligious activities of Yavanas. In the light of this Kharepatan inscription which is dated 1095 A.D., the boast of Gandara ditya that he protected the good and crushed the wicked in his inscription fifteen years after the event may be an after thought or an effort to mollify the wounded feelings of his country men.

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360. Ibid, No.19 V.24

The second point to consider in this Arab violence, is the attitude of the Imperial Chalukyas who claimed full control over the region and their feudatory Kadamba Guhalladeva son and successor of Jaykesi III. The latter was in fact the patron of the Arab Sailors and merchants and had built up a strong navy[361]. The chalukya suzerain was vikramaditya VI and he had married the sister of Kadamba Guhaladeva III. Anantapela actually fought and defeated this Kadamba[362]. The Kadambas however did not relent. A further invasion of the Konkan territory was undertaken by Kadamba Shivachitta Permandi and his brother vishnuchitta who were assisting their father Jaykesi II (1104 - 1148) Anantapāla silahara's son Aparaditya or Apararka faced the invaders who were called by him as destroyers of religion and culture[363]. However after receiving a severe beeting from Aparaditya. They sought refuge with the Mlechhas[364]. Ganderaditya might have been ashamed of his allies and the suzerain. He was a highly religious minded man. He had already fed one lakh of Brahmins[365] at the Prayaga and helped many religious institutions[366].

In view of the atrocities perpetrated on the innocent Hindus on the coastal region Gandarāditya towards the end of his reign asked his valiant son Vijayāditya to render

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361. Gopaka plate-Goa Archives, Moncoes, Vol. 93-D; Pissullencar-Inscription pre-portuguese de-Goa, in Oriente Portugues, No.22, pp.386 ff.
362. Kharepatan Plates, C.11 Vol.VI No.19 V.24
363. Aparaditya's Vadavali plates dated 1127A.D. Ibid.No.20V.20
364. Ibid, No.20 Verse 22.
365. Sri Prayage Lakbrahmanabhojan Talekte plates No.45 Line 31.
366. Ibid. No.48 Lines 24 to 27.

assistance to the Konkan rulers. He restored the Thana and Goa rulers[367] according to Kasheli copper-plate grants of King Bhoja II dated 1191 A.D.

Gandaraditya was helped by his brother Bhoja I who has been shown in very glowing colours by the composers of the Inscriptions whose name as mentioned as Apoja at one place[368].

The grandfather of Gandaraditya, Gonka I. had claimed Lordship of Konkan[369] probably when the South Konkan Silāharas were liquidated by Chaulya suzerain Jaysimha[370]. His grandson Gandaraditya claimed government of Konkana under his umbrella[371] If these Kolhapur kings could claim the Silahara kingdoms of North and South Konkan under their control there could not be any question of restoring the rulers of Thana and Goa by fithting against any outsiders as hinted by Vijayāditya in his Kasheli copper-plate grant[372]. This makes Kolhapur-Konkan Silahara struggle not as a dāyādvyasana (dispute for hereditary rights) but a territorial conquest, Gandaraditya's contribution to the prosperity and power of the Silahara house was limited to Kolhapur only.

Bhojadeva: He was the brother or step-brother of Gandaraditya. He had played an important role as described in bright colours in Ganderāditya's inscriptions. For

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367. Bhoja II's Kasheli Copper-plate dated 27.6.1191 A.D.V.13-
368. Ibid.No.45 V.18
369. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.43 V.5
370. Miraj Copper-plate of Jaysimha Ind.Ant.,Vol.VIII p.18
371. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.45 L/24-25
372. Ibid., No.60 V.13

example in his Kolhapur copper-plate[373]. Bhoja is described as a source of all Blessed things, a romantic hero and a destroyer of fierce enemies. He subdued Santara Kadamba, brought about the downfall of Kongaja, slew Bijjana (may be a ruler of Mangalvedhe[374]), destroyed Kokkalla. He is described as a conqueror of Konkan and a man who set the city of Belgaum on fire. He also released Bhillama probably the ruler of khandesh[375]. His period cannot be ascertained separately as he supplemented the rule of Ballala and Gandera-ditya and had no opportunity to rule independently. This swashbuckling hero was not rewarded by his sovereign Vikram-aditya VI. Whereas Gandaraditya was given the title of '<u>Fearless Wrestler</u>' [376] by the same Sovereign. He was however defeated by Sinda of Yelburg[377]. His activities did not receive favourable response at the imperial court and chalukya Vikramaditya.VI~~I~~ was encamping at Bhimarathi to suppress him in 1100 A.D.[378]. All his activities therefore contributed to strengthen the position of Gandarāditya and weaken his own position[379].

<u>Benevolences of Gandarāditya</u>:

Gandaraditya had many 'birudas' or epithets which

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373. <u>Ibid</u>, No.46.
374. B.R.Gopal however does not accept this identification- Minor Dynasties of South India Karnataka Vol. I pp.149-50.
375. <u>Ibid</u>, Verses 9 to 13.
376. <u>Ibid</u>. V.16
377. J.B.B.R.A.S., Vol. XI, (old series), p.269.
378. Desai P.B. A History of Karnataka,p.176.
379. B.R.Gopa, 'Minor dynasties pp.254-57 & 269 States that Bhoja actually became independent by 1100 A.D.

show the high esteem in which he was held by his sovereign as well as his people. 'Ayyansimha[380] i.e. a son like a lion to his father, 'Iduvaraditya[381], among the archers the sun; 'Rupanarayan[382] Narayan by his handsome form; 'Sanivara-siddhi [383] one who is successful even on Saturdays; % Giridurgalanghan" [384] one-who-is a seizer of hill-forts; "Kaliyagavikramāditya";[385] Vikramaditya in the Kali Age; Sriman Mahalaxmilabdhavara Prasādha [386] one who has obtained the favour of a boon from Mahalaxmi, "Mirinjadesham samasta Khollam Sakônkanamakachhatrena Dūstanigraha Sistapratipālana-pūrah"[387], ruler of Mirinja desh together with the seven Khollas' and Konkana. The title that was bestowed upon him by his Chalukya sovereign was " Nissanka-Malla[388] a great Wrestler or a fearless wrestler.

He is discribed in Line 40 of Kolhapur copper-plates[389] as the god of love to conrtesans, Vatsaraja inrespect of riding horses, Bhisma in regard to pure conduct. He is compared to Indra and h&s comparison with the sun ends in establishing him as superior to the Sun[390].

From the religions point of view he is credited with "Lakshabhojan[391] feeding one Lakh Brahmins and "Tulāpurushadāna[392]

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380. Talele Copper plate C.I.I.Vol. Vi, No.45 Line 21
381. Ibid Line 22
382. Ibid
383. Ibid
384. Ibid
385. Ibid
386. Ibid Line 23
387. Ibid, Line 24/25
388. Ibid No.46 Verse 16
389. Ibid Line 40
390. Ibid No.45 Verse 11
391. Ibid Line 31
392. Ibid No.51 Line 5

weighing himself in gold and distributing the gold to the priests. He had also built a great Lake 'Gandasamudra[393] for supply of water in the village of Imukudi that may be Irukudi near Kolhapur. A Jaina temple called Rupanarayana was built by one of his subordinate chiefs Nimbaras and named after him at Kolhapur[394]. He built the temples of Siva, Buddha and Arhat (Jain) on the banks of Gandasamudra[395]

The above information will give a glimpse of the many-sided personality of this King. The overtones in the praise of such a handsome, prosperous, charitable and brave king could be understood. In the political field he had extended his influence to the greatest extent possible. He had not only an access to the Western sea but he also commanded his suboridnate chief Nimbadevarasa to help Chalukya suzerain in his war with the Cholas of Tondon[396].

Sri Prayaga - The picture of his benevolences will not be complete without a reference to the feeding of one lakh priests at Sri Prayaga referred to above. Dr. Mirashi feels that Sri Prajaga mentioned in the Talele Inscription is not the Prayaga the well known pilgrim place in Allahabad but was a place of that name where rivers Bhogavati and Kesari two tributaries of Panchaganga meet[397]. Dr. Mirashi is justified in identifying Sri Prayaga with a place near

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393. Ibid No.45 Line 45.
394. Ind. Ant. Vol. XIV pp.25 f.
395. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.45 Line 34.
396. Ibid No.49 Lines 7-8
397. C.I.I.Vol. VI p.209.

Kolhapur. He is also right in saying that the conjunction of the two tributaries of Panchaganga is still considered as a sacred place. The difficulty however was finding such a large number - one lakh priests in Maharashtra which at that time may not have a total population of a few thousands priests[398]. It would be expedient for a pious king like Gandaraditya to send his minister to manage such a grand feast where thousands of priests gather throughout the year. Besides there was always a tendency among the southern rulers to visit highly sacred places like Somnath[399] and Vaijnath[400] and invite divines from sacred place like Varanasi[401]. In view of such programme there should not be any doubt in the minds of people that a Kolhapur king a prosperous and a pions one, performed a meritorious act at an All-India level by feeding one lakh priests. This king rewarded the minister who successfully organized the function appropriately.

Gandarāditya was a pace-setter in certain respects. His liberality towards all religons institutions, his ambition to extend his political power in all direction with the help of his brother Bhojadeva and his son Vijayāditya, his patronage to the Vīra Vananja and the feudatories[402] was

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398. Ante. Chapter I (population) Notes By Prof.T.Roy Early History of Dekkan by R.G.Bhandarkar p.178.
399. Kadamba Shashtadeva's visit to Somnath E.I.Vol. XII p.309-310; Arikesari's visit to Somnath C.I.I.Vol.VI or 11 Gifts to Somnath by minister of Aparaditya II. Ibid No.31.
400. Gift made by Aparaditya II to Vaidyanath of Darbhavati Ibid No.32
401. Rudrabhattopadhyaya of Varanasi was invited by Vikramaditya of North Konkan Ibid No.23.
402. Gandaradityas Kolhapur stone Inscription Ibid No.49.

continued by his son Vijayāditya. Gandavāditya was a contemporary of Chalukya Vikramāditya VI and Somesvara III; Kadamba Guhalladeva alias Tribhuvanamalla and Jayakesi II and North Konkan Silahara Anantadeva and his son Aparaditya alias Apararka.

Vijayāditya (1140-1175 A.D.) - Out of the six inscriptions relating to this period only four[403] are of some importance. However they are concerned with endowments to religions institutions and priests and the information gathered from them is indicative of the economic and social conditions rather than it being useful for political information. It is only from the Kolhapur stone-Inscription dated 1182 A.D. of his son Bhoja II [404] that we get the information about his charities. The best praise that could be sung by the son was that his father spent his wealth in removing the adversity of good people. The Kasheli grant of Bhoja II dated 1191 A.D.[405] furnishes the mostimportant information about his political activities. He reinstated the rulers in the Sihanaka Mandala, reestablished the prince who had fled from his principality of Goa and above all helped Kalchuri Bijjana to attain imperial position[406].

It seems the plans for a supreme position were matured during the reign of Gandarāditya. The early death of Bhoja who had revolted against the Chalukyan Suzerain was a set-back

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403. Miraj stone-Inscription dated 1142 A.D. and 1144 A.D., Kolhapur stone-Inscription dated 1142 A.D. Bamani Stone-Inscription dated 1150 A.D. shed val stone inscription dated 1153 A.D. C.I.I, vol. VI Nos. 52 to 55.
404. C.I.I.Vol.VI No.58 V.12
405. Ibid No.60 V.13
406. Ibid.

to his great plan. He knew that the Sindas, Kadambas, Hoyasalas and the Kalchuris were all waiting for an opportunity after the death of Vikramāditya VI in 1126. The rise of Kumarapala in Gujrat in 1143 A.D. and his alliance with Kadamba king Permadi-shivachitte of Goa (1145-45) was not favourable to Vijayaditya. The death of Western Chalukya Jagadekamalla in 1151 A.D. was a segual for spirited action by the Kolhapur Śilāhāra. The leader of the anti Chalukya party was Bijjala Kalchuri who overthrew the worn out Chalukya empire[407]. He went too far in suppressing the Kolhapur Śilāhāras before consolidating his position. Vijayaditya in his frustration also helped Jaykesi II the Kadamba king of Goa. Who was Bijjalas enemy Finally Bijjala with his stronger army crushed Vyayaditya in 1175[408].

Bhoja II (1175-1212 A.D.) - As Vijayaditya was the only son of Gandaraditya, Bhoja was Vijayaditya's only son as there is no reference to his brother ~~of the Śilāhāra family~~ in his four Inscriptions so far available[409]. He was the last king of the Śilāhāras family of Kolhapur . His son Gandarāditya is mentioned in the Kasheli copper-plate as

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407. Ibid.
408. Kundanagar, No.25. In N.K.K.S., p.175. Boppana Dandanaya's prasasti which is not dated but is carved below image in which one king vijaya is referred to the refernence may be to silahara king Vijayaditya.
409. Kolhapur Stone inscription of 1182, second stone inscription of 1190; Kasheli grant and Katapur grants . Both dated 1191 A.d. C.I.I.Vol. VI Nos. 58,5960 and 61.

Kumara Gandaraditya and the grant was made for his progress[410] and welfare but he seems to have been without any position after the defeat of Bhoja II at the hands of Yadava Singhana[411]

Bhoja II is styled as Vira Bhoja and with epithets indicative of sovereign position[412]. The Yadavas had to suppress the Śilāhāras both of Kolhapur and the Konkan. Singhana Yadava is stated to have imprisoned Bhoja II in the Panhala fort described in Ramadevaraja's Purusottempuri copperplate[413]. The end of the Śilāhāra rule came suddenly and completely as the Yadavas did not follow the time-honoured custom of placing over the conquered kingdom a man belonging to the family of the fallen prince[414].

The two copper-plate grants - Kasheli and Kutapur which Bhoja II issued in 1191 A.D. relate to places in Konkan[415] which means that in the declining period of the Kolhapur Silaharas their strongholds were in the Konkan areas. These places must have been assigned to them during the times when Gonka was faithfully serving his Chalukya master Jaysimha I and Kadamba Shashtadeva II was competing with Kolhapur Śilàhàra in acquiring as much concessions from the Chalukya Suzerain as his naval power could enable him to do so, of course, with the Arab support.

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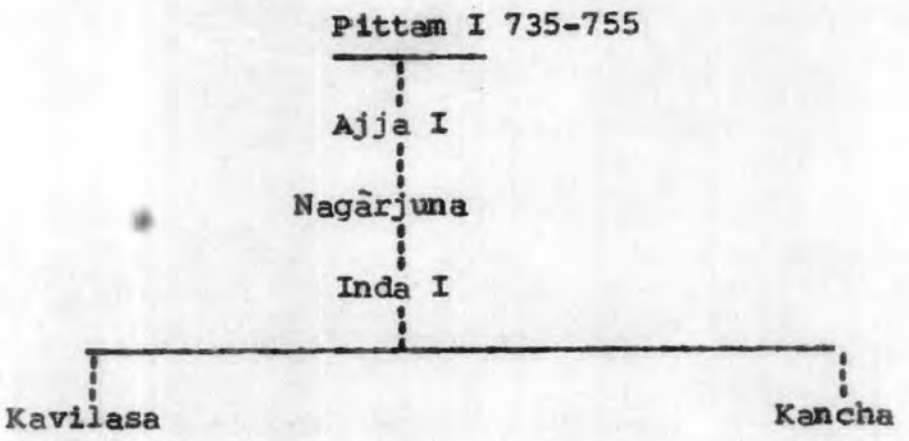
410. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.60 Line 33.
410. Bom.Gaz., Vol. I pt ii (old ed.)., p.254.
412. Somesvara's Sabdaronavachandrika' p.121.
413. Ep. Ind., Vol. XXV, p.203; Shrinivas Ritti 'The Seunas' pp.117-118.
414. Abu Zaid Elliot & Dowson Vol.I p.7
415. Kasheli is in Rajapur Taluka of former Ratnagiri, Deobul and Kutapur though referred to as a place in Madya Pradesh actually relate to a place in Ratnagiri District only as the borders physical boundaries of the village mentioned are those Like the rivers are to be found in the same district.

The Kolhapur Śilāhāras must have retained their claim to the lordship of Konkan even though in reality. They might have lost its control after Bhoja I 's abortive effort to extend his possessions. That might have resulted in the death of Bhoja I in the clash with Vikramaditya VI in 1100 A.D. [416].

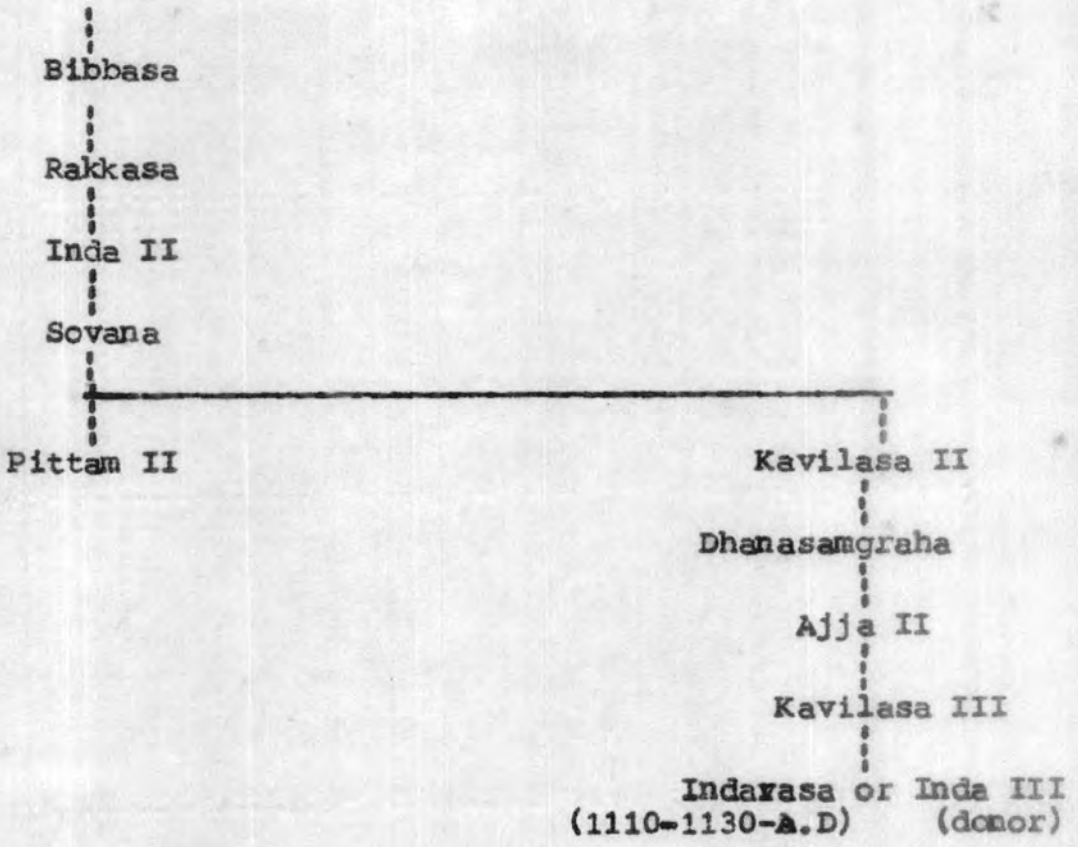
The other dynastics of Śilāhāras -

We have already discussed the activities of the main Silaharas branches in the Konkan and the Karad-Kolhapur. The other segments did not came into public view as there are no references in the records of their overlords or their contemporaries. We have to depend upon the Akkalkot inscription[417] of Indrarasa, BombayKarnatak Inscriptions[418] and the inscriptions in the private possession of P.B.Desai[419].

The genealogy of the Akkalkot dynasty is as follows[420] on the basis of Indarasa's document dated Dec. 25, 1114 A.D.



416. Desai, P.B., - A History of Karnataka, p.176
417. Ep. Ind. Vol., XXVII (1947-48) published 1956
418. B.K.ros of 1933-34, 1936-37, 1937-38, 1937-38.
419. P.B.Desai O.Otacamund's private possession of Chalukya Vikram year 36 and 48.
420. Ep. Ind. Vol, XXVII p.66 (Lines 9-37)



Pittam I (C.735-755 A.D.) - The founder of the Akkalkot line Pittam claimed descent from ś Silāhāra gotra and Kheehar vamsa and adopted the title of the Lord of Tagar and proudly called himself Kshatriya and the ruler of territory between Kalinjar in Bundelkhand to Assitadri i.e. Karakorum or Haridwar Hills[421].

This is obviously a fantastic claim. We do not find mention of any such Silahar dominion either in the accounts of Abuzaid[422] or Jain sources of political history of Northern Indra 423.

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421. Ep. Ind. Vol.XXVII pp.66-67.
422. Elliot & Dowson Vol. I pp.1-11
423. Choudhari G.C. Political History of Northern India.

Dhanasangraha (C.1000 to 1025 A.D.) - He was probably the most powerful king of the line. He was the contemporary of Jatiga II of Kolhapur, Rattaraja of South Konkan and Vajjada II - Ankesari of North Konkan and Chalukya emperors Vikramaditya V and Jaysimha I. He is stated have maintained a vast army of 18,000 cavalry, eighty thousand eminent warriors and countless footsoldiers[424]. However he had authority over a small tract of Ankulage or Akkalkot.

Indrarasa III (C.1100-1125) - He is mentioned as Vijayapurāparameśvara and Vijayapurāvaradhiśvara[425]. P.B.Desais infers that the early settlers of this tract had chosen the ancient and sacred town of Vijayapura as their headquarters[426].

The stuggle between the Chalukyas and the Hoyasalas had reached a critical point. Indrarasa might have fought on the side of Vikramaditya VI. The friendship between the Kalachuris and the Akkalkot Silahras was proved by the fact that the father of Indarasa III named Kavilasa IV had made donations in conjunction with the grandfather of Bijjala, Jogamarasa to the temple of Siddhagajjéśvara[427]. The Yadavas ended the power of all the feudatories of the Chalukyas and Kalchuries in the 13th century.

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424. Ep. Ind. Ibid p.66
425. Two epigragraph from Akkalkot dated A.D.1112 and A.D.1124 as mentioned by P.B.Desai in Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII p.68.
426. Ibid.
427. Ep. Ind. Vol.XXVII. pp.65-69.

Silaharas of Bijapur : The Bombay Karnataka inscriptions of 1933-34 give us some idea of the political activities of the family from the middle of the 11th Century to the first quarter of the 13th century A.D. Their Chiefs call themselves selara, Śilāra and Siyala and lords of Tagara Nagar. Their headquarters was at Elamela or modern Amel in the Sindagi taluka. They worshipped the God Uttareśvara. They cherished reverence to their tutelary deity Katyāyani Incidently it may be noted that there is a reference to God Haresvara in the stone-inscription of North-Konkan Śilāhāra Somesvara's, in the year 1260 AD.[428].

According to P.B.Desai,[429] this section of the Śilāhāra line bore the epithet of Kopanapurāvaradhiśvara. This family also claimed Katyayani as their tutelary deity. The earliest member of the Kopanapura branch, whose name is given as Kanchiga might be a descendant of Kanch,[430], the fifth or sixth ruler of the Akkalkot segment of the Śilāhāra lineage, and his rise may be assigned to the middle of the 10th century.

Dhanasangraha Silar[432] (Akkalkot) was ruling over Attinur (Haltanur) and is stated have hailed from Tardavadi[433].

Basavura 140. The Śilāhāras of Basavura refer to their

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428. Somesvara's Change stone-Inscription dated 12-4-1260 A.D. C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.39 Line 15.
429. E.p.Ind.Vol.XXVII pp 69-70.
430. Generlogical table
431. Ep.Ind.Vol.IV p.59.
432. Genealogical table
433. Ep.Ind.Vol XIX, pp 180 ff., B.K.Nos.10, 12, 19, 32, 37, 41, 78, 123, 153 of 1932-33.

Khachara race and serpent banner. Their Tulelary deity was Padmavati of the Jain pantheon [434]. Thus was the only family that had sarpadhvaja or scrpent banner. The Northern Konkan had haruda dhvaja or Eagle on their banner.

Terdal (Belgaum) branch of the 12th century they were the followers of Jainism. They had the emblem of peacock feathers as their ensign[435].

Erremathem This family rose to prominance during the reign of Western Chalukya Someśvara II Satyaśraya Mahāmandaleśvara of the Kurnool district had assumed the titles such as Tagarapuravaresvara Pratyaksha - Jīmūtavāhana - Kula Sambhav and Mandākinivaraprasā-do-data', that is prosperous through the grace and boon of the goddess Mandakini.

Kheda branch A record of a gift of land to God Svayanibhu of Kheda a Village in a small division of twelve in Bijapur district. Kheda branch[437] was of the descendants of Maruja vitta (Pittam II) of the Akkalkot branch. They are described as lords of Kopana and devotees of Katyanidevi. The genealogy of this line is almost identical with Akkalkot upto Dhanasangraha I, son of Kavilasa II. Thus Kheda family was collateral with Akkalkot Kopamapura branch[438]. This branch come into pronunence in the first half of the 11th century

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434. Ep.Ind, Vol, XXVII p.70.
435. Ind. Ant.Vol. XIV pp,22 ff
436. Ep.Ind.Vol.XXVII p.70
437. E.C.V.Rice's edition Ag 44.S.E.C.IV,p 103.
438. Ep Ind. Vol. XXVII pp.69-70.

under the leadership of Kanchiga He was probably a descendant of the Akkalkot family.

The Akkalkot and Kopana branches used the epithet, Supreme lords of the country as far as Kalanjara. They claimed Silahara gotra and Khhechara Vamsa. From the above account it seems Akkolkot line very much influenced the other Segments during the 11th to the 13th centuries.

Administration : Objectives and ideals before the Śilāhāra rulers Although uniform pattern of government was not followed throughout the Śilāhāra administration the objectives were common which were expressed in different forms.

The pattern of administration was the traditional one, the ministers feudatories and the military forces enabled the King to carry on the government and protect his people. The Akkalkot dynasty which among the minor Śilahara dynasties was supposed to be a leading one had set a high ideal of Saviours of the distressed and the suffering humanity [439]. The Kolhapur King Gandarāditya is described as the remover of the sorrow of the miserable and always ready to save all creatures and a believer in doing favour in a secret manner.[440] Rattaraya of South Konkan was praised as one versed in the science of government and learned in political science, a self disciplined man and the servant of the aged[441]. The North Konkan rulers from Aparajit onwards took pride in declaring that they would save those who seek asylum 'Śaranagata Vajrapanjara' and

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439. Akkalkot Inscription Ep.Ind.Vol.XXVII,pp 65-71 fine 33
440. Bhoja II's Kashali grant C.I.I.Vol.VI.No.60 V.9.
441. Rattarajas Bhapatan grant Ibid, No.42 V.12.

considered that it was their duty to restore the legitimate rulers[442].

With the stability in the Kingdom of the North Konkan Śilāhāra, they assured that their Kingdom would strive for making it a benevolent state 'Kalyan Vijaya Rajya'[443].

The high ideals before individual rulers would inspire any person to greater sacrifice. An 'Kesari' wished to be acceptable to the good, Sattām Sammatah[444] Gandarāditya wished to be as pure as Bhiśma 'Shouchagāngeya'[445] and Nagarjuna was a man of highest morals 'like a brother even to a prostitute[446].

The North Konkan rulers had cultivated the spirit of sacrifice and four of them laid down their lives in the defence of their land and their freedom.

The key to the efficient administration of the Śilāharas is found in the formula clarity and accuracy in records makes the administration efficient[447].

The other principle of administration was that they had always struggled to maintain their Kingdow as a compact one and wanted to equal the success of Ravana of Lanka[448]. The same sentiment was voiced by North Konkan Silahara Anantadeva who was proud of his flag and would emulete the example of Ravana of Lanka[449].

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442. An Kesaris Thane coppe -plate I bid No.8 Lines 16-19
443. From the time of Anantadeva to the last King Somesvara the phrase was used and they adhered to the spirit of the phrase.
444. C.I.I.val. VI, No.8, V.16./ 445. I bid,No.46, L.40.
446. I bid,No.15 lines 30-31/447.Rattaraja's Balipatan grant C.I.I.vol. VI,42 V.27. /448. Gandaraditya's Kolhapur grant I bid., No.48 V.6 /449. Anantadeva's Kharepatan coppe -plate Ibid,No.19,L59-60

They were men who were determined to identify themselves with common men. No doubt they appointed qualified men to the administrative high posts but the Konkan Śilāhāras both North and South always gathered all the representatives of the people around them. Every time they wanted to announce a gift to a religious institutions or wanted to grant relief or certain privileges they always wished to have the consent of the people and that too of all levels of people[450].

The Kolhapur Silahara Marasimha boasted of efficiency of[451] administation the Kolhapur Silaharas know that Saivism was on the decline and so they extended their patronage to the Hindu and Jaina religious institutions. The Konkan Silaharas ignored Jainism they all kept the religious men, the priests and monks in good cheer and kept the merchants the Vir Vanarj of Kolhapur-Bijapur and the śreṣṭhis of Konkan always in good humpur. These were the springs of their power. They watched the political developments and although Dhanasangraha of Akkalkot[452] might believe in military might the other Śilāhāras followed the diplomacy of political alliances including marriage[453] alliances for strongtheuing their government.

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450. e.g. Mummuni's Prince of Wales Museum copper-plate C-II. Vol. VI No.15 Lines 41-43.
451. Ep. Ind; Vol. XXVII pp 65-71.
452. Mummuni's compromise with Kadamba Shashta II Narendra inscription, Ep.Ind.,Vol., XIII, p-310.
453. Njavashyatanta C.I.I.Vol.VI.No.43 Line 15.

The Council of Ministers

The three Kingdoms of the Śilāhāras were run on the traditional pattern with ministers, feudatories and administrative officers. We come across a reference to Mahāpradhān[454] only once in the Kolhapur records and in the South Konkan copper-grants only Sāndhivigrahikā[455] (minister for interstate relations) is mentioned at the end of the inscriptions. The North Konkan Śilāhāras however had highly developed administration. From the time they came into the mainstream of political activities in the middle of the ninth century to the middle of the thirteenth century, each King mentions his ministers in his grants issued at different times. They enjoyed large amount of internal autonomy among the Rashtrakuta feudatories[456].

In the Kanheri cave-inscription[457] dated 843 A.D. two ministerial offices are mentioned; one is 'Sarvādhyaksha' and the other is 'Amātya'. During the period of Goggiraj (930-945) threre was one Nagama who carried out the administration in the capacity of a 'Sachiva[458] (minister). Thus till the end of the 10th century the North Konkan Śilāhāras had the offices of Sarvādhyaksha, amātya, sachiva and sàndhivigrahika. In the beginning of the 11th century the Treasurer or Bhàndagarsen[459] also was mentioned.

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454. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No48 L.24.
455. I bid., No. 41 & 42
456. Altekar, A.S.Rashtrakutas,p.265
457. C.I.I.Vol., VI.,No.1
458. I bid., No.5, V.23
459. I bid., No.8, V.35.

During the reign of Chhittarij (1020-35) the council of five ministers as 'Panchapradhān[460], was mentioned the following departments and the ministers were mentioned

(1) Sarvādhikari - Naganaiya

(2) Sāndhivigrahika - Sihapaiya

(3) Karnat-Sāndhivigrahika - Kapardi

In the next ten years there appears to be a change in designations[461]. Naganaiya was called Mahamatya and the communication minister was called Mahasandhivigrahika. These designations continued upto 1060 and then under Vikramaditya the Chief Minister was called Mahāpradhān[462]. However during Memmāni's time only revenue matters had acquired great importance and eminent administrator like Jowupaya was placed in charge of revenue and treasury with a designation as 'Bhandāgārsenpradhān[463].

The full council of ministers and very important persons of the rayal court are mentioned in Amernath beam-inscription dated 1061 A.D.[464]. The offices and the names of ministers are as follows

Mahāmātya (Revenve Minister) Vivapaiya

Mahāpradhān (Minister) Nagnaiya

Lekh Sandhivigrahika(Writer minister) Vakavaiya

Mahasandhivigrahika (Communication minister) Jogalaiya

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460. I bid No.9 Line 23
461. Chittaraja's berlin Museum copper-plate dated 1036 A.D. C.I.I. Vol.VI.No.11 lines 31-32
462. I bid., No.23 Lines 44-45
463. I bid., No.14 line 184
464. I bid., No.17 Lines 3-5

Bhandagar Prathām Chepati (First treasurer) Sen Mahadevai
Dvitiya Prathām Chepati (Second Treasurer) Bhailaiya
Mahā - Rajgūrū (Chaptain) Nabhatt
Raghu Rajgūrū (Junior Chaptain) Vilanda Śiva Bhatt
Mahāsāmanta (Feudatoy) Tāśivarajana

The only omissen appears to be an astrologer who found a place in Mummum's charter-grant[465].

The ministry of finance gained more importance during the reign of Anantadeva I (1070-1110) as he had undertaken an ambitious plan to build a strong navy and mobilise his armed forces[466]. He appointed Arab'Nauvitaka' Vasaid[467], as his minister and the First Treasury minister with a designation of 'sen Mahapradhan' the trusted Mahadevaiya Prabhu. A generation after the death of Anantapala on the battlefield in 1110[468] his son Aparaditya I (Apararka) continued the system of appointing two ministers in charge of finance. They were now styled as over-all controller of finances of the secretariate "srikarana Bhandagare Prathām/ Dvitiya Chepati. "From the middle of the 12th century Mahapradhan was managing the administration and the number of ministers had to be reduced as Haripaldeva succeeded to the throne when the Kingdom appeared to be divided between Vikramaditya and Haripal the two sons of Aparārka[469]. The

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465. ~~Chittaraja's Berlin Museum Copper-plate dated 1036 A.D. C.I.I.Vol.~~ Ibid.No.16 Line 10
466. Anantadevas Kharepatan Copper-plate grant C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.19 V.24
467. Ibid.,Lines 64-68
468. Degamve Inscription J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol.IX p.266
469. C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.23 Vikramaditya's Panhala Copper-plate Lines 43-45.

tradition of appointing ministers for transacting the financial communication and administrative business of the state was continued till the end of the North Konkan Kingdom of Silahara.

The Konkan Śilāhāras had followed an ideal system of expanding their council of ministers or reducing the nunnber as the situation demanded. As far as possible the practice of hereditary appointments to these high posts was followed by the Kings but Mummuni changed his chief ministers thrice in 13 years between 1048 and 1061, whereas men like Naganniya, Daddhapaiya and Jowupaiya were continued for a long period.

The important feudatories of the Śilāhāras:

In the three inscriptions of the South Konkan Silaharas and in Karnatak inscriptions relating to the Silaharas of Akkalkot, Bijapur and Kopana silaharas there is no reference to their sub-feudatories. The North Konkan and Kolhapur-Karad Śilāhāras however mention their feudatories. They also allowed them to issue charters of grants to the priests or the religious institutions.(Appendix 'A')

North Konkan: Chamundaraj of Sanjan was the most powerful feudatory of the North Śilāhāras. He had issued the Chinehani Copper-plate grant[470]. He assumed several high sounding titles like the Lord of the feudatories, and the

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470. Ep. Ind. vol. XXXII, pp.63f; C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.12,

Lord of the feudatories of the enemies. He mentions that the Sanjan town was granted to him by his overlord Chhinturaj[471]. He had the right to use the five musical instruments while moving in state (Panchmahāśabda) and he called himself (mahāmandaleśvara the same title like his overlord Chhittaraj. He summoned all the representatives of the various guilds and the leaders of towns and the priests to witness the gift made by him to the temple of goddess Bhagvati. There is hardly any difference in the Status of ~~Chhittaraj~~ Śilahara king Chhittaraj and Mahāmendaleśvara Chamundaraj. He practically claims the same progenitor[472]. The only differente is that chamunderaj does not make any mention of his feudatories and the council of ministers.

Another feudatory was Rama Mandalek during the time of King Anantadeva III (1245-1255 A.D.). In the Dive-Agar stone-inscription[473]. Ram Mandalik is stated to have granted a fruit-garden to Ganapati Nayak.

There is a reference of Ramanas Mandalik and Jakhuna Mandalik in the Marathi portion of the copper-plate grant[474] of king Bhoja II of Kolhapur for the renovation of a tempde in Konkan. However this part of the inscription appears to be spurious[475].

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471. Ibid., Lines 5-6
472. Nedl-Mahaneela Ibid., Line 9
473. Maharashtratil kahi Prachin Tamrapata Va Silalekh ed. M.G.Dixit p.85. Line 4.
474. Prachin Marathi Koriv.Lekh ed. S.G.Tulpule, p.193.
475. C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.60.Marashi treats the Marathi portion as spurious p.269 and Tulpule also does not treat it as valid Prachin Marathi Koriv Lekh, p.195.

Kolhapur Among the four feudatories mentioned in the inscription the status of Nolamba[476] is very significant. He hailed from Negumba[477] clan and had the emblem of golden fish and snake on his standard[478]. He received a gift from King Gandaraditya of a Village. He warned the officer (Nayak) that he had to carry on his usual duties without any dereliction; if he fails in his duty he will not get the minimum payment also. He is however very submissive to his overlord[479].

The second feudatory is Nimbadeva[480]. In line No5 of this inscription he is said to have the privilege of the five musical instruments. The merchant guilds give voluntary contribution by raising the funds from the merchants in the market of Kavadagolla[481] for the maintenance of the Jain temple and the Jaina divines.

The connection between the feudatories and the merchants is worth noticing. The third feudatory is Nambaras who built a chaityagar or a prayer hall for the Jain devotees at Kolhapur. The inscription[482] is found on the beams of the Sheshashayi temple in the compound of Mahalaxmi temple. Dr.Mirashi States that Nimbaras and Nimbadeva mentioned in the preceding pages

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476. E.I.Vol.XXVII p 180-181
477. Ibid. lines 56-60
478. Ibid. L.59
479. Ibid., Lines 48-50.
480. Ep.Ind.Vol.XIX p.31
481. Ibid., Lines 26-32.
482. C.I.I.Vol.VI, No.40.

is the same person.[483]. However the pedigree appears different.

The fourth feudatory is Kamadeva mentioned in King Vijayadifyas Kolhapur Stone - inscription[484]. His betel leaves box holder Vasudeva had built a Jain temple and the King granted some land and a house for the maintenance of the temple. Kamadeva is mentioned as sāmanta' and thus may not be a very powerful feudatory. However the fact that his private attendant, a box carrier for the feudal lord could build a temple shows that the feudal lord must be a prosperous one.

The description of the feudal lords from the two Kingdoms will indicate the different grades of feudal lords. Some claim equality with the overlord like Chamundaraj of Saryan because he had won a Victory over South Gujrat[485]. The Kolhapur feudatory Nolamba of a high lineage[486] is submissive to his overlord Gandaraditya but adopts a commanding attitude towards the village official. These two instances will show that although the feudatories appeared submissive to their overlords they were very useful in maintaining the internal administration in proper shape. This is one of the reasons how the Śilāhāras could firmly establish their power in those areas.

Military Strength. The Śilāhāras were not a great military power. Dhanasangraha laid a claim that he had a

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483. Ibid., P.236.
484. Ep. Ind. Vol III, pp 207 f.
485. Lala-prakaradhransaka' line 8 C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.12.
486. E.I. Vol. XXVII p 180-81

very large armed force comprising 18,000 cavalry 8000 eminent warrious and countless foot soldeiers[487]. with such a large and well-equipped army he could have established a great Kingdom. He had however to be satisfied with a small Kingdom in Akkalkot.

The Kolhapur Śilāhāras proudly declared that they belonged to great warrior race 'Mahakshatriyanvaya[488]. They however had to remain in the subordinate position and fight the wars of their suzerain with the help of fendatories[489]. The Kolhapur ruler Marasimba had military abilities and was successful as a captain of an elephant phalanx[490].

The South Konkana rulers showed great vitality unde-r the leadership of Bhima who captured Chandramandala[491]. The North Konkan Silaharas while playing a subordinate role showed the grasp of essential military matters. These were the people who talked least about their martial spirit and qualities but rose to the occassion whenever the circumstance s demanded it.

They inspired the army by their individual capacity to demoralise the enemy. Kapardi the ~~boundry~~ founder of this line was a ferror to the cities of the enemy and a slayer of fierce elephants.[492]. Vappuvanna[493]. was expert in making a phalanx of elephants one-tusked Ganapatis Nagarjuna[494] with

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487. Ep.Ind.Vol.XXVII pp 65-71
488. C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.53 line 3
489. Fendatory Nimbadeva Ibid, No.49 line7;Dandanayaka Bhoppana Ibid, No.57 line,4.
490. 'Varanarajisadhanadhipa' Ibid No.43 line 15
491. Raltaraja's Kharepatan grane Ibid, No.40,V.19
492. Aparajit's Janjira copper plate Ibid No.5 V.17 493.Chittaraja's Berlin Museum copperplate Ibid.No.11verse7. 494. Mimmuni's Prin

his superhuman strength made the enemy sleep on the battlefield Aparaditya who rushed into the enemy's troops with sword in hand and mounted on a horse-back.[495].

They made up the deficiency of their military equipment and power by their display of their extra ordinary individual bravery and spirited leadership on the battle-fied

The weapons that they used were the traditions ones. like the bow and arrow, swords and spears. Goggiraj was praised as a greater bowman than Bhisma-Drona[496].

The warfactics were simple, they used to destroy the elephant wing of the enemy as King Uppuvana is stated to have done[497]. They spread ferror by burning the towns and uties of the enemy and thereby spreading the cloulds of ~~fumer~~ smoke which made the elephants run amuch[498].

They concentrated on their cavalry and the military general always sought a combat with his opposite number. It was the skill in riding and swordsmanship[499] that was valued much in those battles.

As for as the defence was concerned they always resorted to hill-forts, the sea and the support of the common man. Kapardi had set the pattern. It was the sea, the fort and the people that would defend the King[500].

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495. Vikramaditya's Panhale copper plate, Ibid.,No.23 V.25.
496. Chittaraja's Berlin Museum Copperplate,C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.11V.9
497. Ibid., V.7
498. Nagarjuna's Thane copper plate Ibid.,No.13 V.20
499. Vikramaditya's panhale copperplate Ibid.,No.23 V.25
500. Aparajit's Janjira plates Ibid.,No.5 V.17.(Priyajala Giridurga Prinitamestavarga')

They had a sound military organisation. The army units were of thirty each headed by an officer called Goulmika[501]. The army, had the two more wings, cavalry and elephant.

The Śilāhāras could not recruit a large number of infantry due to lack of resources. They had to depend upon their naval strength more than their land forces. Let us examine their naval forces.

Navy of the Śilāhāras -

Commenting on the naval forces of the Rashtrakutas Dr. Altekar observes[502] that as the principal foes of the Rashtrakutas the Gangas, Pallavas, Chalukyas of Badami, Palas and the Gurjar-Pratihāras depended mainly on their land forces, there was no need to build a strong navy. Secondly, the Arabs who were a maritime power were great friends of the Rashtrakuta. In fact all Arab writers[503] openly acknolwedged that the Balharas preferred the Arabs to their own men.

The feudatories managing the Western Coast namely the Śilāhāras of Konkan and the Rashtrakutas of South Konkan,[504] did not give serious thought to the naval activities. It may be the prejudice of the Hindu Writers[507] about the sea travel

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501. Chhadvaideva's Prince of Wales Museum plates Ibid No.4 Line 42.
502. Altekar, A.S. Rashtrakutas etc. p.257
503. Al Masudi Elliot & Dowson Vol. I p.
504. Goa Gaz Vol. I
505. C.I.I. Vol. VI No.41 Line (Balipatan Gindurga)
506. Ibid No.19
507. Gandaraditya's Insa Ibid No.

that might have created this apathy. However the South Konkan Śilāhāras always took keen interest in building sea-fortresses as was done by Dhammiyar[505].

The reference to the maritime trade and the important ports of Chaul and Chandrapur[506] were also referred to in Northern Konkan Silahara inscription.

The other houses of the Śilāhāras lineage were no doubt interested in the sea wealth[507] if not sea-travel. Abu Zaid[508] however talked of the navy of the Southern power of the King of Coromondal.

The State of affairs on the western coast changed after the advent of the refugees from the Persian Gulf, both Zorostrians[509] and Jews added some important contribution in this respect . The attack on Thana in 636 A.D. by Usman-ath Thakafi[510] had in the past warned the rulers of the coast that all was not well on the western coast.

The fall of the Rashtrakutas in the last quarter of the 10th century encouraged Aparājit Śilāhāra of North Konkan to seize the Sanjan[511] Mandal which was then an important Arab principality.

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505. C.I.I.Vol. VI No.41 Line (Balipaton Gindurga)
506. Ibid No.19
507. Gandaraditya's Insa Ibid No.
508. Abu Zaid Elliot & Down Vol. I p.8
509. Ind. Ant., 1912, p.174
510. Bombay City and island Gax. Vol. II p.10
511. Aparajits Janjira Copper-plate grant C.I.I.Vol.VI No.5X31

From the 10th Century onwards piracy was increasing on the Konkan coast. The Kadamba Sashta contracted friendship with the Arab sailors and merchants[513] and in a short time built a navy which could defeat the Śilāhāra naval guards easily. It seems Kadamba Jaykesi was able to play an important part in the deliberations with their Chalukya masters because of their naval power.

From the time Shasta II Kadamba subdued Chhittaraj by the massive strength of his naval power the Śilāhāras had to think seriously of building a viable navy for the sake of Self-preservation of not for aggressive purposes. Anantapal who persuaded the Arab and other foreigners to his side actually could rule for a long time till at the end of his reign he had to face the combined opposition of Kadambas and Chalukya.

Aparāditya also continued his father's policy and was able in a short time to mobilise his navy. The changing political conditions, the compromise of the Chalukyas with their inveterate enemies the Cholas[514] and the rise of Kalchuris diverted the attention of Śilāhāras. Kumārapala's invasion and death of Mallikārjun on the battlefield again made them think of their armed forces rather than to concentrate on the naval organization.

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513. Aparaditya's Vadavali plates C.I.I.Vol. VI No.20 V.20
514. Battle of Koppam 1052 A.D. Smith V.A. The early history of India (Fourth edition) p.448.

The sea-battle between the Yadava Mahadev and Śilāhāra Someśvara[515] was very significant. The Śilāhāras had organized their navy for war-purpose but it was more a merchant marine to boost the trade with Western countries. than a fleet of warships.

The defeat of the Silaharas in the sea-battle shows how even the Yadava who were mainly a land power could uproot the Silaharas by forcing them to fight on the sea. Anantapala who could talk about punishing the mercenaries or piratical gangsters with the incitement of Chhitaka[516] could crush the villains but it was defficult to defeat the Kadambas who had established themselves as a sea-power. It was only when the Kadamba Jaykesi who became ambitious at the time of the Kalchuri revolution that the Chalukyan Emperor Vikramaditya VI checked him. The Kadambas also neglected the naval forces as ~~the~~ in the subsequent period the sultans of Delhi were sending their great general like Malik Kafur to wipe off the vestiges of Hindu rule in the South.

The Silaharas lost the initiative which Anantadera had obtained after crushing the piratical raids with the secret support of the Kadambas to the pirates. The Śilāhāras adopted policies to ensure prosperous trade and not for the expansion of territorial empire with the suport of navy. They went down fighting a sea-battle. Thus ended the rule of the Śilāhāras.

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515. Aparaditya's Vadavli plates C.I.I.Vol. VI No.20 V.20
516. C.I.I.Vo. VI No.19 V.24

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE PEOPLE DURING THE ŚILĀHĀRA TIMES

It is instructive to concentrate on the following terms to understand the religious life not of the common man but of the high society at that time.

Śaivism was the prevalent religion in the Śilāhara dominions but the bureaucracy and the merchant communities showed leanings towards Jainism. The titles or biruds assumed by King Gandarāditya of Kolhapur (1105-1140 A.D.) such as "Ripubalasarpa, māndalika bhairava"[1] implied that Śakta cult had made a deep impression in the form of the Bhairava cult. The title of King Mummuni of North Konkan Śilāhara, "Ripūmundamālālankruta, Vasumatisvayamvara" conveys the idea of the Śākta cult more emphatically than elsewhere.

It is quite evident that the scribe or poet-minister Jowupaiya[2] who composed the Charter of Mummuni wanted to exalt the image of his king in the eyes of his people. He was a minister in charge of Treasury and was availing himself of the opportunity to force the attention of the common men on the cult of Śakti, ~~cult~~. and create an awe among the reading public.

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1. C.I.I. Vol. VI No 43 L 14-15; No.48L39; No 48 L.18.
2. Mummuni's Dive Agar Copper-plate dated 22.7.1053 A.D. Ibid, No.16 L.17

'Mundamalā', which means garland of the human skulls, indicates the practices of 'Kapalakundalā' and the reference to Mundamala by Jowupaiya the nephew of the poet Laureate (Mahakavi) Nagalaiya who was also a minister of Mummuni, suggests that the writer was familiar with the famous drama, Malatimadhava by Bhavabhuti. The power to fly in the sky acquired by Aghorghanta-Kapala-kundala[3] resembled the Śilāhāras who claimed descent from the Vidyadhara race of demigods who flew in the sky. The poet might have been tempted to point out the similarity, but while doing so he indirectly leads us into the higher society and allows as to have a glimpse of religious life there.

King Mummuni was passing through a very difficult period as the Northern Śilāhāras were practically crushed by the Chalukya Emperor Satyaśraya[4] by about 1045 A.D. Mummuni had to make a humiliating peace[5]. In view of these circumstances it is natural that the poet-minister should have the vicarions pleasure of seeing the heads of the enemies falling and his religious propensites expressed in the manner that would comfort his king and also nourish his escapism.

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3. Bhavabhute, Malatimadhava, Verse 22.
4. H.C.I.P., Vol. V, p.171
5. Ep. Ind., Vol., XIII, p.310.

A direct reference to Pāśupatāgama[6] is found in the Miraj plate of King Marasiṁha of Kolhapur and an indirect reference to the Pasupata sect in Kharepattan[7] copper-plate dated 1008 A.D. of King Rattaraja of South Konkan. In this record of South Konkan Śilāhāra, acarya of Mattamayur Karkarnoni branch, is mentioned. It is therefore clear that śakta cult was popular both in the Konkan and in the Desh'. These references are no doubt in connection with the grants of villages for the ritualistic worship of the deity that is Śiva, but they imply the popularity of the cult also.

In the Rattaraja's Kharepatan copper-plate mentioned above, the grant was made by the royal donor to His Holiness Atreya as a sort of offerings made by a disciple to his preceptor[8]. This confirms ~~the both of~~ that Rattaraja in the 11th century found it necessary to invite highly celebrated learned Pāśupata from Kadava[9] in the former Gwalior State. It was a sumptous grant of three villages and a part of the income from other three villages, a fixed amount fromthe customs, and a free service of the temple-employees like the dancers, oilmen, gardeners, potters & washermen inside the fortress.[10] The importance attached to the holy personage is clear from the details of the benefices

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6. Marsimhas Miraj copper plate dated 1058 A.D. C.II, Vol.VI No.43.Line 33.
7. Kharepatan Copper-plate of Rattaraja dated 1008 A.D. Line 52 C.II.Vol.VI, No.41
8. Ibid line 56 'Vidyadanaswarupina samadat' i.e. given in the form of donation to learning.
9. C.T.I.Vol. IV, introduction, pp.clief.
10. Ibid Lines 56 to 59.

bestowed on the spiritual guide. It is a well-known fact that the main centre of Śaivism during the 10th and 11th centuries was the monastery at Mattamayur[11] in the former Gwalior State.

The minister whose name is mentioned in the three available inscriptions of the South Konkan is one Sri Devapala. He was the son of Sri Vaman and was a poet also. Although we do not know his religious learning yet the composition of the grant by his son gives the impression of great devotion towards Pāśupat cult. The invocative opening verse is an ample proof of the popularity of the Pāśupata cult as there are references to skull, skelton and the 'tandav' dance[12] etc. This cult however could not prosper much in the south as the Śilāhāras of the south lost their kingdom in 1024 A.D.[13] that is only sixteen years after, the grant was made.

Śakti cult

The Śākta cult as described above was more or less of the type of personal devotion to God Śiva. There was however a new trend in the worship of Śiva in the last quarter

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11. C.I.I.Vol. IV Introd., pp. clif.
12. C.I.I.Vol. VI p.190. V.V.Mirash has translated the verse No.1 as May that smile of Siva afford your protection for a long time-(the smile which appearedon his face) when he saw at the time of histandava (dance) that the skull in his hand had collected the pearls dropping from cavities of the oyster-shells turnedup from the heavenly Ganga, whose stream was struck by the tip of the large toe of his mighty staff-like leg raised sportively, and that the skelton on his body had marvellously, come to life by the dripping of reactor from the moon in his matted hair ! "
13. Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p.18

of the 10th century which continued for about five to six generations thereafter. The outstanding example of this new mystic trend was noticed in the titles and biruds assumed by the Kings of North Konkan and Kolhapur. The term "śanivarasiddhi"[14] is very significant in this respect.

The simple meaning of "Śanivarasiddhi" would be victory or success even on Saturday, which is considered as an inauspicious day for any important undertakings. It is believed that what is started on Saturday would meet with a failure. Those who emerge successful on such days are surely extra-ordinary.

Aparājit-I assumed the birūda "'Śanivāravijaya[15]" 'this would surely place the king in an extraordinary position. It would convey the idea that Aparājit was always successful and there was no mystery about it. However the title assumed by king Gandarāditya of Kolhapur in the form of "Śanivārasiddhi" signified some mystic power. The same king also assumed the titles such as "Vāraṇavājisādhanādhipa" and "Nijavaśyatantra"[16] seem to have a double meaning; The military and political authority is convyed by these words but at the same time the familiarity with the Tantric terms signifies the influence of Tantrism among the ruling classes.

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14. CII Vol. VI, Inscription Nos 7 Line 46; No.45 Line 22; No.49 Line 3; No.53 Line 13.
15. C.II.Vol. VI, No.7 Line 46.
16. Marasimha's Miraj Copper plate dated 1058 A.D.Line 15 C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.43.

King Gūhala for whom these epithets were used was also described as'Ripubala sarpa-mandalik Bhairava' and this indicates that "Bhairava" worship had already gained a wide support at the Śākta-Pitha of Kolhapur[17].

Tāntrism - The influence of Tāntrism is evident in the most outstanding example when Sri Chikkader the disciple of Pāśupata Pandit Brahmadeva was described as learned in all the Āgamās and also "Padārthapravina"[18]. This latter term implies the influence of alchemy. The art of 'Rasayana' had captivated the people of Malwa and its charm had spread throughout the neighbouring lands. Alberuni[19] commenting on the so-called science of 'Rasayana' observed that the masters of the art exercised great secrecy and their books are written in an enigmatic style. He has fully discussed the various stories he heard about the charms used for snake-bite, gold making, and the efforts to achieve immortality[20]. Bhôjadeva of Malwa was a great patron of the 'Rasayana'[21] science.

According to tradition on King Bhôja I (1011-1055 A.D.) of the Parmār dynasty was credited with setting up of vast laboratories at huge costs and employeeing a number of 'siddhas'

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17. Devi Bhagavat, VII, 38,5-30.
18. Ibid No.43 Line 33,38.
19. Sachau E.C.Albaruni's. Indra Ip 183 and p.190
20. Ibid. pp 190-95
21. Buddha Prakash 'Aspects of Indian A History and Civilization p.309.

to prepare alchemic concoctions[22] which would guarantee immortality in life. However the whole project proved to be abortive. He satired the 'siddhas' in one of his plays which was staged in his court but the 'siddhas' had their own arguments.

Alchemy - We have no epigraphical or other record to know whether such projects were also undertaken by the Śilāhāras. They might not have the necessary resources and personnel for such a fabulous scheme or they might have been disllussioned by the failure of Malwa 'Siddhas'. They however wanted the superhuman power which they believed was possible by the practice of Yoga[23]. Two terms 'Sahajavidyadhar[24] and 'Vajrapanjaro deva'[25] occur in some of their inscriptions. As pointed out above, these words are also used with a double meaning. V.V.Mirashi interprets 'Sahajavidyadhara' as a born Vidyadhara[26]. It is obviously a pun on the word Vidyadhara. Aparājit was born in the family of Vidhyadharas

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22. Puratanaprabandhasangraha, ed. Jinavijaya Muni, Calcutta, 1936. p.22. "Sri Bhojena Siddharasasidhihetot suvarna saptakotirbhaksata., Rattikamatramap na siddhirajani Tato Rasavidambana natakamamandi."

23. Ibid, P.H.Pott, Yoga en Yantra Hunne Betelekenis voor de Indische Arshaeologie (Leiden, 1946) English Resume, p.157.

24. Sahajandyadhar occur in Aparadityas Janjira and Bhadan plates - C 11 vol.VI No. 6 Line 49 and No.7 Line 45, Vajrapanjara Deva , Bhandup plate No.9 Line 18.

25. Nagarjunas, Thane plate No.13 Line 22 and Mummuni's Thane Plate No.14 Line 20, Also Chhittarajas Bhandup plate No.9 Line 18.

26. Mirash, V.V., Silahara Rajavamsacha Itihas ani Koriva Lakh p.34.

and the composer of the Inscription Uddam, wished to emphasise the learning of his sovereign. However the real fact appears to be that Uddam Kayastha wanted to impress the receipients of the grant by conveying the idea of "Sahajayan". In the Kaulajñana "Sahaja" is associated with Vajra[27] and the term "Vajrapanjara deva" should be viewed against this background; the term has been translated by V.V.Mirashi as an "adamantine cage". The reputed scholar however did not give thought to the spiritual level about which the composers of the epigraphs were aware of. They were filled with the spirit of 'Sahajayan'. Aparājit was a great king and his burds who had some experience of Tantrik Culture wanted to elevate him in the eyes of the Śākta devotees. According to the siddhas "sahaja" was an ideal state which is attained by the Yogis, a state in which the mind attains immobility and is free from positive and negative attributes[28]. The political conditions in which Aparājit faced the invasion[29] of Satyaśraya, the Chalukya suzerain, described by the Kannada poet Ranna who was at the court of Emperor Satyaśraya, would lead one to think that Aparājita must have shown extraordinary composure of mind while surrounded by the enemies. This might have appealed to the imagination of the poet to regard him as a "sahaja-siddha".

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27. Kaulajnaninraya, XV, 10, p.55
28. P.C.Bagchi, Kaulajnananirnaya, Intro., p.55
29. Ind. Ant, Vol- XL, p.42.

Sahaja School - The Sahaja School had become very popular everywhere. In the Śaiva 'sahajayana' the dualism appeared as Śiva and Sakti; in Vaisnava 'sahajayana' it appeared as Krishna and Radha and the Buddhist 'Sahajayana' it appeared as Prajña and Upaya. The Jainas borrowed the idea of 'samarasabhava' (the sense of transquility and repose) from the followers of sahaja cults[30]. Jainas also accepted the wofship of Śiva under Sunya-niranjana, as is clear from verse 38 of Pahudadoha[31]. The synthesis of Buddhism and Hinduism is clearly seen in the growth in of Nātha sect. The Jainas regarded the Nātha teachers as their own saints, especially Macchindranath and Gorakhanatha[32]. Their common approach to the ultimate spiritual attainments produced an atmosphere of toleration and healthy rivalry. We therefore find during 10th and 11th centuries A.D. a marvellous spirit of live and let live. This was specially remarkable when the Islamic invasion of the Indian land was made and the religious life was disturbed. The principle of religious toleration followed by the rulers was among other reasons, the outcome of the identity of spiritual life, and the social organization. They supported it as it was based on common heritage. The harmony brought about by

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30. Yogindu, Paramatmaprakasa, ed. A.V.Upadhye verse 282.
31. Ramasimha, Pahudadoha, ed. H.L.Jain Verse 38.
32. Mohan singh, Gorakhnatha and Medieval Mysticism, p.8

the spiritual and cultural heritage of a common type however created a false sense of unity. It was the indication of mental exhaustion and lack of vitality to contradict the other man's point of view and oppose it with a determined spirit. The ascetics, and renouncers of the world represented by these orders from the three religions of India had induced the unthinking masses to submit to anything, as the wordly life was of no consequence.

Reconversion - It is as a consequence of this identity of views and common social outlook, that the proselytizing work of Islam became easier than expected and reconversion to Hindusism was made defficult. A quotation from Al.. berum's account[33] will be instructive.

"I have repeatedly been told that when Hindu slaves (in Muslim countries) escape and return to their country and religion, the Hindus order that they should fast by way of expiation then they bury them in the dung, ~~state~~, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, till they get into a state of fermentation. Then they drag them out of the dirt and give them similar dirt to eat, and moree of the like."

" I have asked the Brahmans if this is true, but they deny it, and maintain that there is no expiation possible for such an individual and that he is never allowed to return into those conditions of life in which he was, before he was

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33. Sachu, II pp 162-63.

carried off as a prisoner. And how should that be possible? If a Brahman eats in the house of a Śudra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regan it."

As against this Dr. A.S.Altekar states that "the Hinduism of the period of Rashtrakutas (i.e. 753 A.D. to 973 A.D.) was not so conservative or short-sighted as the present day Hinduism, and was prepared to follow in practice the gospel of reconversion which was recommended to it by its thinking sages[34]" In support of his statement he has cited the specific case of Nawas Shah[35] who had embraced Islam and was rewarded with high administrative post. Sultan Muhmmed however dealt with him severely when he found him" "apostatizing towards the pit of plural worship". Altakar admits that Al'utbi from whose account he has made this reference, does not state whether Nawas Shah was actually accepted back into Hinduism. He however maintains that % "Since he was so summarily dealt with by Mahmud, it is almost certain that the reconversion was not merely planned but actually carried out "[36]. In order to strengthen his argument that reconversion to Hinduism was actually practiced he refers to the AlBila-dury[37]'s statement that the Muslims were by that time (the end of the 8th century) compelled to retire

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34. A.S.Altekar, "The Rashtrakutas and their times" p.305
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid.
37. Al.Biladury or Ahmad Ibn Yahya, Ibn. Jabir, Lived towards the middle of the ninth century A.D.

from several parts of India and that the people of India had returned to idolatry except those of Kassa[38]. Dr. Altekar capitalised on this one and goes on to claim that the sentence in italics (put into inverted comas above) shows that mass reconversions had taken place in several places in the latter half of the 8th century. The advice of Devala and Brhadyama was actually followed in the matter[39].

Now Al-biladuri, the earlier of the two authors quoted by him above, appeared not to have visited Sind[40] but he quotes the authors on whom he relied for information. He merely states [41] here that the people of India had returned to idolatry and the Musulmans had no place of security in which they could take refuge. So he (Hakim successor of Tamin as governor of the Sind frontier) built a town on the other side of the lake, facing India, and called it Al Mahfuza[42]. Al-Biladuri has not quoted any witness or authority and has not supplied any details. Moreover his statement contains no hostile expfession about upsetting such a great proselytizing work. He however has subsequently related the story of son and grandson of Mahan of Sindan which was told to him by Mansur, son of Hatim. According to him "The Indians afterwards made themselves masters of Sindan, but they spared the mosque, and the Muhammadans used to meet in it on the Friday and pray for the Khatif"[43].

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38. Sachau, I.p.126.
39. A.S.Altekar, 'Rashtrakutas and their times pp 305/6
40. Elhot & Dowson, I.p.114
41. Ibid, p.123. AlBiladuri merely states that "we are told etc. " whether it was Ali, Son, of Muhammad, son of 'Abdu-llah son of Abu sa-f" or other people is not explained p.115
42. Ibid p.126
43. Ibid p.129

From the above two statements we can easily see that the author wishes to exaggerate the disorder during the feable rule of Tamin and praise his successor Hakim. Besides, AlBiladuri was a good poet.' He is cited by Ibn Haukal, Al-Masudi, and others ancient geographiers, but his history is rarely quoted[44].

Even if we accept the statement of 'Indians returning to idolatory' as true that does not justify the claim of mass reconversion and Dr. Altekar's wishful thinking that the advice of the sages was followed is not substantiated. If such a mass reconversion had taken place this event would have been commemmorated by some poet at the court of the Parmaras who were considered by the Arabs Muslims as their deadliest enemies[45].

In the second place if such a mass conversion had actually taken place in the 8th century, there was no need for Nawas Shah to waste his time on holding "conversation with the chiefs of idolatory respecting the casting off the firm rope of religion (Islam) from his neck[46]"; as the practice should have been firmly established during the previous three hundred years as Dr. Altekar presumed it to be.

It is also surprising to find Sultan Mahmud who refused huge amount of wealth to spare the idol of Somnath[47], sparing the

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44. Sachau, I.p.115.
45. Ibid p.4-Merchant Sulaiman's account.
46. Elliot & Dowson, Vol. II, p.33
47. Sachau, II, p.103

life of Nawas Shah the wretch who dared to 'cast off the rope of Islam', seizing his treasures and returning to Ghazna[48]. Dr. Altekar is not sure whether Nawas Shah spared by Sultan Mahmud was accepted again as a Hindu or not. His subsequent observation about the affair is worth considering. He states, "it is thus clear that towards the beginning of the 11th century (the period of Nowas Shah affair) the masses were for recoversion but the Orthodoxy had begun to frown on the practice[49].

It will also be pertinent to consider the views of Buddha, Prakash[50] on this affair. According to him, "Devala Smriti and Atrismriti and other kindred texts supported and sanctioned the reconversion activity. The sage Devala, silting on the banks of the Sindhu permitted the 'Suddhi' of those who were forcibly enslaved by the Mleechas and compelled to slaughter the cows and other animals and eat their flesh together with the leavings of their food or to dine and mix with their women, after a simple expiatory and purifactory rite. Even women kidnapped and ravished by the Mlecchas, could be reclaimed by 'suddhi'. Not only Devala but also Vijnanesvara in his Mitaksara glossed over the Yajnavalkya-smriti approvingly and quoted many smriti texts on this point"[51].

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48. Ibid. p.33
49. Altekar, A.S., 'Rashtrakutas etc.'p.306
50. Buddha Prakash, 'Aspects of Indian History and civilization, 'pp.262.63.
51. Yajnavalkya Smriti, (Nirmaya Sagara Press 1936)pp.423-31.

In this connection it is worth noting that such a great calamity as massacre of thousands of people of Sind and their forcible conversion to Islam and destruction of temples and the 'Dharma' from the North-West India hardly evoked any national protest . The Smriti Commentatories were busy determining a trivial issue whether Smritis or Puranas should be regarded as of superior authority[52] and therefore the 'Kalivarja'[53] could not have a clear directive in the matter of reconversion of those forcibly converted. They veered round the 'Chāturvarṇya" system only and points such as women criminally assaulted and the like.

Buddha Prakash obviously depends on the same casual statement made by Al-Biladuri[54]. There is however no evidence to answer Al-Beruni's direct question. "And how should that be possible? If a Brahman eats in the house of a Śūdra for sundry days, he is expelled from his caste and can never regain it"[55].

Buddha Prakash like Dr. Altekar admits that caste-complexes and sectarian feelings in Indra, and not only Brahmanas but also the Jainas were afflicted by the same malaise[56].

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52. Kane, P.V., History of Dharmasestra Vol.III p.873.
53. Ibid, Kalivarjya pp. 930-968.
54. Elliot & Dowson, I., p.126
55. Ibid, II, p.163.
56. Buddha Prakash, 'Aspects of Indian History and Civilization pp. 263/64.

Many 'Dharma - Mahāmātras' or Missionaries were sent by Aśoka to spread the Gospel of Buddha but after a thousend years thence, the Buddhist zeal for saving the unfortunate and the miserable vanished. The 'Mleccha' civilization had Shaken the Buddhist organization in the north, and traces of Buddhism in Central Asia and North Western India had disappeared by Al-Berum's time[57].

Buddha Prakash while discussing 'Vajrāyana' and 'Tantrāyana'[58], the vehicles of the fusion of Buddhism and Hinduism has rightly pointed out that all religious sects and philosophical schools of medieval India shared a common heritage of concepts and symbols, in which Buddhism and Hinduism merged and became one. He says, the view that Buddhism was ousted from India as a result of the rise of neo-Hinduism is a historical error. As a matter of fact, they had branched off from the same current of Indian culture and, after running their separate courses, lost themselves again into it so that their identity became indistinguishable"[59].

According to the philosophy of 'Sahajāyan' there was no need to worship any deity made of wood or stone . One should worship one's own body as all gods reside in it[60]. It was a

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57. Sachau, preface p. XIV.
58. Buddha Prakash, 'Aspects of Ancient Indian History & Civilization' pp 279-93.
59. Ibid, p, 290.
60. B. Bhattacarya, Sadhanamata Vol II intro, IV Na Chapi Vandayeddevan Kashtapasana Mrinmayan, Pujamasyaiva Kayasya Kuryannittyam Samahitah.

revolutionary idea and the Nātha Yogis spread this message and created among the mass a belief that all sorts of powers could be obtained through body only. The founder of the Yôgini Kaula, Matsendranath maintained that Śiva could not do anything without Śakti[61] and Śakti the symbol of which is yôgini or woman given to the path of Yôga should be worshipped. The Nātha Yôgis had immense influence in North India[62] and from the 10th century onward their influence began to be felt in Northen Maharashtra. Matsendranath and Gorakhnath became the household names. The yôgis had stressed the need of a spiritual guide for the union with[63] the Paramaśiva or the All-Highest. This had created an impression among the masses that for spiritual progress "Gûrù" was absolutely essential. The several sect's and cults which arose in the sub-sequent centuries accepted the institution of a spiritual guide. The Nātha cult gave rise to Vīrśaiva or Lingāyat sect in the 12th century in Karnataka. The Lingāyat teachers used the regional language, Kanaŕes, for their preaching and Vīrśaivism became a powerful challenge to Jainism[64]. Similarly the rise of Mahānùbhāva sect was helped by the Marathi language in Maharashtra in the 13th century especially in the northern part of Maharashtra. However it must be borne in mind that the teachers of Vīvśaivism -Allawa-prabhu, Rāvanasiddha, Marulasiddha and Basaveśvara were all

61. Kaulanyayanirnaya ed P.C.Bagchi (Calcutta 1934),p.16
62. Kabir-Granthavali, ed. Syama Sundara Das, p.54 verse 536.
63. Goraksasiddhant asangraha ed. Gopinath Kaviraya p.11.
64. Handbook of Virshaivism p.7.11. Nandimath, S.C. Dharwar 1911.

influenced by the Śaiva cult. Vīrsaivism accept the union of Śiva with Śakti; unlike the Nātha cult, the Vīrśaivas attach more importance to Śakti and believe in "Vīsistadvaita[65]" special form of non-duality Vīrśaivism spread rapidly in Karnataka after the middle of the 12th century.

Vīraśaivism -Popularity of Vīrśaivism in the Deccan especially in Karnataka in the 12th century increased astoundingly as women and the lower caste Hindus received better treatment from the preceptors and their religious sermons were all in their native language. The Vīrśaivas opposed idol worship and pilgrimage to holy places. They condemned caste-system. They emphasized devotion and moral character and thus curbed the evil influence of licentious behaviour of the Nātha yôgis, which had corroded the social life[66]. It is said that Gôrakhnāth had expressed his disgust with the sexual laxity and persuaded his 'Gûrû' back to the creed of sex-control. The growing indiscipline and loose behaviour[67] of many Nātha yôgi impostors favoured the Vīrśaiva teachers as they preached moral behaviour, social duties and affection towards all living beings.

Mahànûbhāva - The inspiration for the Mahānubhāva saints was from the Nāthayôgis but they keenly avoided the evil practices associated with Tantrism[68]. The founder of the

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65. Sakhare, M.R., Lingadharnacandrika Belgaum 1942 p.443.
66. Goraksapaddahti, p.48 (ed.Gopinath Kaviraja), S.Dasgupta, Obscure Religions Cults(Calcutta 1946)p.14ff.
67. Barthwal, P.B.Gorakhbani,p.2;G.Briggs,Garakhnatha and Kanphala Jogis(Calcutta 1930).
68. G.Briggs,Gorakhanatha and the Kanphata Jogis(Calcutta,1930); Caitanyacaritamrta II,2,27.

sect Chakradharaswami who lived during the latter half of the 13th century[69] used Marathi language for his teaching. Philosophically they, were nearer the Vedic tradition and in conduct they followed non-vedic practices. Mahānubhāva opposed caste system[70] but emphasised renuncition of the wordly life for salvation. They were to be overwhelmed by the Bhakti cult which made its appearance after the fall of the silaharas.

Both the Vīrshaiva and Mahānubhāva sects influenced the common men and represented the protest against the prevalent moral degeneration of the time but their work falls beyond the scope of our dominions and period. The philosophy of Sahaja was beyond the understanding of common men but the rejection and condemnation of religious formalities and rituals appealed to them. The literature of the time provided a vesitable feast for the sexual passions of those who could read the Buddhist and the Saiva Tantrism.[71] Ofcourse this was limited to a very small per centage of the population but the representation of erotic scenes in sculpture and the paintings created among the masses a sense of moral frustration. The scenes of amorous couples carved on the outer walls of temples and the Khajurao type scenes sculptured in the inner walls of the temples where Siva Parvati and Krishna Rādhā were shown in amorous poses

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69. V.B.Kolte, Sri Chakradharaceritra p.318
70. However Mahanta Shri Dattaraj Kavisvara Mahanubhava in his letter dated 2.6.1919 written to Shri V.L.Bhave author of Maharashtra Sarasvata expressed the view that the Maharabhavas accept chaturvarya system.
71. Kaulajnyananirnaya ed.Bagchi, pp.80-90.

stirred the passions of ordinary people. Instead of promoting sacred feelings about the religious matters the literature and art of the time produced frivolity, the climate favourable for hypocricy, vulgarity, laxity of morals, secret societies, cult of alchemists, witchcraft' gross sensuality and a new type of asceticism[72].

Buddihism, Jainism and the Śaivism as discussed above had created among the devotees a desire for religions salvation through the agency of renouncers of the worldly matters or the ascetics. Romila Thapar has pointed[73] out that the Śankarācarya's Daśanāmi[74] sect had to act in defence of orthodoxy as the heterodoxy had become very influencial. The rivalry and the hostility[75] between the followers of different creeds and sects especially Jainas and the Lingayats, had vitiated the whole religious life of the people.

Religions policy of the Śilāhāras - The Śilāhāra dominions during the first two centuries after their political ascendancy had come under the influence of Śaivism tending towards Tāntrism. We could also find a secret influence of Buddhist Vajrāyana and Sahajāyana.[76] Whatever their personal views about the religious philosophy and practices, they might have been saw to it that their popularity among the people never suffered. They invited learned Brahmins and established the Agraharas[77]

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72. B.Bhattacrya, Sadhanamata, Vol.II, Intro.p.XXXiii; caryagitikosa ed.Baghci, P.C. and Santi Bhiksu.pp 9, 12, 30, 38.
73. Romila Thapar 'Ancient Indian Social History' p.76 and F.N.No.47p.100.
74. G.S.Ghurye, Indian Sadhus' (Bombay 1964), p.70ff; H.Chakraborty, Asceticismin Ancient Indian in Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina and Ajirika Societies (Calcutta, 1973), p.178ff.
75. Romila Thapar, Ibid, p.100, (76) Supra p.5,
77. C11 Vol.VI, 13, 14, 15, No.36, No.48.

and gave them liberal endowmens[78] for the ritualistic worship of Śiva or the Jain and Buddha pantheon[79].

The influence of Buddhism and Jainism on the rituals of the Hindus is evident as the costly sacrificial ceremonies were conspicuous by their absence. Instead of these sacrifices there was an accepted pattern of 'Panchmahājñya-Anūsthan'[80] and 'Sadhkarmapālana'[81].

They promoted the work of building temples, maintaining and repairing[82] them. As far as possible they invited learned men from other provinces to come and guide the local men in the higher cultural attainments. The inmates of the

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78. Ibid No.8,9,10,23,41,43.

79. Ibid No.45

80. Panchmanhyajnaya ritual includes
    1) feeding living creatures (Bali)
    2) offering food to Gods (Cheru)
    3) Worship of gods (Vaisvadeva)
    4) Keeping the fire burning with all the rites as laid down in the scriptures (Agnihotra)
    5) Entertaining guest (Atithipujana)

81. Sadkasma Included
    1) Performing sacrifice (Yajana)
    2) Presiding over the sacrificial ceremony (Yajana)
    3) Leuning (Adhyajana)
    4) Teaching (Adhyapana)
    5) Giving gifts (Dava)
    6) Accepting gifts and fee (Daksina)

82. C.II Volume, VI Nos. 17,50 etc.

monasteries[83] received great respect[84], gifts, tax reliefs and most important of all the security against the anti-social elements[85]. These Agraharas[85-A], temples and monasteries and frequent visits of learned men from other provinces such as Karhataka[86] in Maharashtra, Kadvaha[87], Kulapur[87-A] Hastigram[88] in central India and Varanasi[89] or Banaras in U.P. and reciprocal visits to these places created a sense of security and stability among the higher classes.

It is noteworthy that except Gômi Avighriakar[90] from Gaud-desa (Benga) a Buddhist devotee, all the visitors were learned Brahmanas and they were all preceptors of high position. The Jaina "acāryas" or preceptors were from Kolhapur Miraj regions. The Mûlasanghi desiyagana of the Pustakagaccha "teachers are not mentioned as visitors from outisde. However, the Mūlasthāna appears to be śravanabelgôla in the South. These monesteries and shrines actually had become the agencies working in favour of the Śilāhāra rulers as the patronage of the king, his officers, his feudatories and the connection with merchants was essential for their maintenance[91] and multifarions functions. The mutual assistance

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83. Ibid. No.1, 11, 50, 52-Line 46(L/4) (L/59)(versil)
84. Ibid, e.g. No.13-Line 18(Oil for massage of the feet)
85. Ibid No.5, (Achatabhatapravisya) Line 66 No.11 Line 57
85-A. 45 Lines 28-29; No.36 Line 34-40 No.59 Line 16 No.42 Line-50
86. Ibid No.5 LRs59-60; No.6 L-71; No.14-Line 61.
87. Ibid No.41-Line 52
87-A. No.62 Line 29 after verse 15.
88. Ibid No.13 Line 60
89. Ibid No.23 Line 67
90. Ibid No.2 Line 4
91. D.D.Kosambi, 'the culture & civilization of Ancient India p.184.

offered by the rulers and the ascentics is clear from the fact that monasteries - Maths, Chaityas had acquired not only religious importance but also economic and political significance[92].

Activities of the religious institutions

Religious institutions had acquired great importance during the Medieval age. The disturbing political conditions and the challenge of Islam had forced everybody's attention on the existing institutions. From 10th century onwards the influence of Tantrism and the Ghaznavi campaign of plunder descration and demolition of the Hindu and Buddhist temples and shrines had left the people in a state of suspended animation.

It will be instructive to examine some of the frequent references to the religious bodies to understand their role in a more clear manner and be not led by generalizations[93] based merely on materialistic considerations.

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93. eg. D.D.Kosambi has made the following observations on the activities of the inmates of Buddhist monasteries "Formerly, the entrant into the Order had first distributed all his wordly possessions and then renounced the wordly life. Now be brought his money and experience of money making into the monastery. The monasteries were important customers for the caravans cloth for the monks, incense and costly perfumes for the service, metal images, metal camps in large numbers (the soot sule blackens all the ceilings) were not locally available. It is obvious that these abbeys were important stages on the journey, resting-places for the caravaneers, as well as supply houses and banking houses"
D.D.Kosambi op. cit p.185.

Vihāras and Aryasenghas.

This term occurs in the Kanheri inscriptions[94] of Silahara kings of North Konkan. These inscriptions also refer to 'Aryasanghas'[95]. The three inscriptions relate to the second half of the ninth century A.D. There is no further mention of viharas and Aryasanghas in the later centuries although in A Gandarāditya's Talele copper-plate dated A.D. 1110[96] a reference of a grant of a piece of land for the expenses of the worship of Buddha occurs. The patronage of the trading community to the Buddhist sanghas did not come forth publicly. The functions of the Aryasanghas were clearly of banking and financial management, since a devotee migrating from Bengal and setting in the Kanheri region in the Konkan lays down the conditions about the fixed deposit of one hundred Drummas and insists that he would receive the interest on the deposit during his life-time and then the amount would be spent as directed by him[97].

It is worth noting that even after the apparant disappearance of the influence of Buddhism in the Deccan after the 10th century A.D., We find that Buddhist worship alongside that of Mahavir Jain (Arhat) and Śiva (Iśvara) was announced

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94. Kanheri Inscriptions C.II.Vol.VI, No.1 Line 4 and No.2 L/4.
95- Ibid Inscr.No.3 line 5; Inscription No.1 Line 4.
96. C.11 Vol. VI Insc. No.45 Line 34.
97. Ibid No.2, Line 4.

in the above Gandarāditya's inscription[98]. Gandarāditya had built the great lake near Miraj called Gandasagar and had built the temples for Buddha, Jain and Hindu Gods. This again shows that there was no ill-feeling or clash of interest as the Śilāhāra ruler Gandarāditya had created an atmosphere where Buddhism was tolerated in the stronghold of the Jainism[99] and sakt cult namely Kolhapur[100]. The liberal policy of the Kolhapur Śilāharas is thus proved beyond doubt.

Chaityāgāras: Usually these are associated with Buddhism but we come across chaityagara[101] and Chaityalaya[102] which were evidently Jain halls of prayers. There are many references to 'Basadis'[103] or Jain temples in the Kolhapur inscriptions. The important Jain temples mentioned are those of Parśvanātha[104], Rupanarayana[105] and Padmaladevi[106]. This shows the predominant influence of Jainism in Kolhapur and Bijapur regions.

Monasteries: In the available silahara epigraphic records we come across 'Matha' and 'Mathapati's in three inscriptions. The first reference is in the Chikodi or Pattankudi[107] copper plate inscription of king Avasara II of

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98. C.II Vol., VI. Ins.No.45 Line 34.
99. Kolhapur was the stronghold from Mulasamgha's of Desiya-gana of Pushakagaccha and was styled as sri Tirtha Kolhapur (Ins.No.47 Line 23). It was
100. Sircar D.C., 'Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India' p.68ff.
101. C.II, Vol.VI, Insc.No.50 pillar No.5 Line 9. verse 11.
102. Ibid Insc. No.53 Line 22.
103. e.g. Insc.No.47 Line 23.
104. Ins.No.53 Line 22
105. Ins No.48 Line 19
106. Ep Ind. XXVIIp.70(Basaura-140)
107. CII Vol.VI No.40, Line 40.

South Konkan dated A.D. 988. The merchant barons respectfully presented (after washing the Kings feet) an amount of 40 Dinars and agreed to the levy of arecanuts for the continuation of their privileges of enjoying the revenue from two villages. While making this gift and solemnising the agreement they had invited a number of important representatives of the people. Among these were the chiefs of the 'Panchmathasthana Mathikafrayi'. This obviously was a Buddhist monastery as at the beginning of the invocatory verse the word "sarvadnya[108] is mentioned. This is an epithet of Lord Buddha Mirashi is of the view that as the copper-plate was found with a Jain family the word sarvadñya might meen Arhat of the Jainas of the Jainas but he admits there is no sign in the Inscription which can be identified with Jainison[109].

The presence of the monks either Buddhists or Jainas at the public ceremony of the presentation of feudal dues, obviously of the materistic nature lends support to the view that the asceties were playing a major role in the urban and rural economy[110].

This occasion is also significant because after a lapse of about two hundred years[111] we came across a reference to financial transactions where a monastery has some concern though not directly. The Buddhist influence was not altogether

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108. CII Vol.VI No.40 Line-1. 109. Mirashi V.V.'Silahara Rajavamsacha Itihas ani Korivlekh p.216 ff.
110. Romila Thapar opcit p.91.
111. The Kanheri Inscription C11 Vol.VI No.1 to 3) belong to the eight and ninth centuries.

wiped off and it seems the Buddhist institutions and their Vajrayana philosphy also found a favourable field in South Konkan areas as is clear from the Mattamayer sect being patronised by the subsequent rulers of South Konkan[112].

The second reference to monastery is found in stone-inscription of North Konkan silahara king Aparadityas copper plate dated A.D. 1137[113] where Mathapati of the temple of Goddess Jogesvari is mentioned. The asscurse is represented in picture by showing a women and an ass. This vulgar picture at the bottom of the inscription is the reflection of importance acquired by sex in the religious life of the people. The inscription is on stone and is therefore to be publicly exhibited. The artist who dared to sculpture the mating of an animal with a woman must have derived his inspiration from the Khajurao erotic sculpture of that period. If the purpose of the inscription was to attract the attention of the people such a sculpture would normally offend the aesthetic sense of an average man and he would experience a repulsive feeling even to read the contents. We have to remember that the temple mentioned here is of Yogesvari and the Mathapatigraha (Monastery) and other units whichwere attached to the temple of Jogeśvari were to get relief in taxation. The king addresses to the Sadhakas[114]. Mirashi has interpreted this word to mean trust[115]. The same word

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112. Rattaraja's Kharepatan grant dated 1018 A.D. C.II Vol.VI, Ins. No.41 Lines 51-56.
113. C.II. Vol. VI Ins. No.21, Line 15
114. Ibid Line 19
115. Ibid p.130.

can be interpreted to meen those devotees who followed the śākta cult and in this instance the temple being that of a śākt deity 'Yogesvari', the word 'sadhaka' should be regarded as devotees.

The inscription is of the second quarter of the 12th century and from here onwards we find that the silahara kings of Konkan were inscribing their charters of grants on stone and also the influence of the śāktas was gaining ascendincy.

The third reference to monastery occurs in two inscriptions during the reign of Kolhapur king Bhoja II one dated A.D. 1182[116] and the other dated A.D.1194[117]. In the first inscription it is stated that 'Sahavasi Brahman' Lokana Nayak had established a matha (No.58 Line 22/23) and King Bhoja II granted one house for granary of the Matha and one white house each for the four Brahmanas. In the second inscription we are told that Lokana Nayaka's wife had opened a charitable feeding house (Sattra)[117-A] (No.59 Line 15) for the Brahmanas. The rich endowments made by the King to the matha and its inmates including the students studying there shows how the king was influenced by the work of the inmates. Further the endowments are made for the augmentation or expansion[118] of the Kingdom. The purpose of this endowment is not spiritual attainment but a wordly one and since the gift included a gift of land the benedictory verses[119] warning the violaters of

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116. The stone inscription of king Bhoja II C.II Vol.VI Ins. No.58 dated 25-12-1182.
117. Ibid Ins.No.59 dated 27.2.1194. 117-A. C.I.I. Vol.VI No59 L.15.
118. Inscription, No.58 Line 21 and Inscription No.59 Line 3/4 The word used is 'Nijarajyaabhivridhaye'
119. Insc.No.58 verse 15 & 16.

the grants are also 'incorporated'.

In view of the above instances of charitable grants made by the Śilāhāras of south and North Konkan and Kolhapur Kings,[120] it can safely be stated that the monasteries throughout the Śilāhāras dominions played an important role in the religious life of the people. Although the Śakta followers believed in secrecy and avoided to appear before the people or to congregate openly in the Matha they commanded a large following in the Śākta Pithas. The most important being that of Kolhapur[121].

Dana and Temple-building:

Most of the records of the Śilāhāra period consists of charters of land grants and reliefs granted to the temple establishment or to invididual learned Brahmins or Jain Acharyas. Whether the grant is made to a Hindu temple or to a Jain Basadi, the invocatory, benefactory and imprecatory verses are of set pattern. It is interesting to note the underlying philosphy of the grants and the belief in the highest merit acquired by land-gift and temple-building.

Giftmaking:

The Dana-stutis have more of less a uniform format. G.H.Khare has given the examples ranging from the early centuries to that of the 17th century[122].

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120. Inscription No. 41 1 to 3 and 21, 58 & 59 respectively C.I ± Vol. VI.
121. Sircar, D.C. op.cit, p. 68 ff .
122. Khare, G.H., "Samsadhakarcha mitra"

In the earliest gifts given by the South Konkan silaharas the emphasis was laid on the ancient tradition of giving gifts and they warned the offenders of the dire consequences for violating the sanctity of gifts. In Rattarajas Balipattan copper-plate[123], it is stated that in the past, kings had given gifts for gaining religious merit and success in life. It is easy to grant a gift but difficult to guarantee it over a long period. Those who deprive the donee of his gifts would be rotting in the worst of Hells[124]. A more exalted view is taken in Chhadvaideva's Prince of wales Museum copper-plate[125]. Verse No.26 says that Vedavyas declared that the first child of Agni was gold personafied energy of Vishnu as earth, child of the sun and cows. The giver of gold, cows and land will therefore achieve the three worlds. The givers of land shall go to the place where there are Gandharvas and Apsarsas i.e. Heaven. They shall enjoy Heaven for inmemorable years. Sagara King of the hoary past enjoyed the sovereignty and one will enjoy the fruits in proportion to the land-gifts. This is the general law for the kings which every body, should also follow. The importance of land-gift is extolled in the most flowery language and those who deprive the donees of their donated lands will suffer immense agonies in the Hell.

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123. C.II.Vol.,VI Insc.No.42 verses 22 to 26
124. Ibid, verse 25.
125. Ibid, Insc. No.4 verse No.26-34.

Life is like a drop on the leaf of a Lotus flower nobody therefore should vanquish the fame of others[126] (obviously gained by gifts of land).

The philosphy of Dana is further strengthened by the philosphy of life as stated in the format of the inscription of king Aparajit[127] of North Konkan, "Earth, fame and Youth are ephemeral and life is in between the teeth of death even then people disregard the otherwordly considerations. The whole world affairs are like the trunk of a plantain-tree. It is surrounded by meaningless things, it is all destructible. Religion is the only support and the giving of gifts the only way to gain merit for the ancestors and for oneself in this world and the other".

In many other inscriptions also we find a similar exhortation adding that the souls of ones ancestors are thirsting for release which one can satisfy by gift of[128] land .

Gift-giving is as old as the civilization and the importance of gift-giving is declared in the Rqveda[129] and thus has a great sanctivity for the Hindus. Romila Thapar has described the purpose of gift-making in early societies as mainly magico-religious as the gift is symbolic of communion with the supernatural. The gift-making also confers status on the giver and the receiver and it also performs an economic

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126. Chhadavidevas Prince of wales Museum copper-plate C.I.I. Vol.,VI inscription No.4 verse 34.
127. Janjira Plate (Set No.1) C.II Vol.VI,No.5 Line 53 Verse 34
128. Mummunis Thane copper plate (C 11 vol.VI No.14) verse 27
129. Rqveda VI, 47; I.126

functions of exchange and redistribution of wealth[130].

The dana however was not regarded merely as a charity but an exchange for merit. The gift making was encouraged by the kings and their ministers as the upkeep of most of the temples and monasteries as well as the religious learning had to be aided by the people.

Temple Building:

Temples were the nerve-centres of the religious life of the people. King Jhanjha of North Konkan[131] who is stated to have built twelve temples was considered a glwoing example of a meritorious king. These temples were supposed to have been built in the first half of the 10th century[132] but disappeared in the subsequent centuries.

Temple-building was more meritorious than giving gifts to individuals. The king and his ministers and the wealthy merchants who desired to ensure a high position in life here and hereafter therefore undertook tonbuild temples and thus create a laddar to ascend heaven[133]. The list of temples built by Kings and priviate individuals are shown in the adjoining table[134]. Among the most important temples standing to this day are four famous temples-two that of Siva

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130. Romila Thapar, op. cit. p.110
131. Nagarjuna's Thane copper-plate dated 27.8.1039 A.D. C.II. Vol. IV, No.13, Verse 8
132. Jhanjha is supposed to have ruled during 910 to 930 A.D. as per the genealogical tables.
133. Nagarjunas Inscrip Ibid Line 14.
134. See below Appendix 'C' pp.501-505.

at Ambernath near Kalyan and the other of the same God Koppesvara at Khidrapur near Shirole in Kolhapur district, which is incomplete. The other two are those of Jainas Rupanarayan at Kolhapur and the other of Ṛśabhadeva at Khidrapur near Shirol-Kohapur. The famous temple of Mahalaxmi however was built by the Sindas[135] before the Śilāhāras. In the compound of the Mahalaxmi temple there are traces of a previous Jain temple of Adinath which was converted later on into a temple of Śeśaśahi Vishnu temple[135-A]. The Khidrapur Siva temple could not be completed by the Kolhapur Silahara king vijayaditya. As regards the two Jain temples - Rupanarayan was built by Gandavaditya's feudatory Nimbadevarasa[136] and the same feudatory also built the temple of Ṛśabhadeva at Khidrapur[137] near Shirol in Kolhapur district. The most famous temple however is that of Ambernath near Kalyan in Thana District. Its construction started during the reign of Chhittadeva and it was completed by Mummeni in A.D.1061[138]. The Śiva Linga here is considered to be autochthon (Svayumbhuva). The wording of the inscription being obscure at some places we are not sure whether the actual builder or the financer was one of the feudatories of Mummuni whose name was Sri Tāswarajaraya[139].

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135. Ep.Ind., Vol.XIV, pp.164f. There is no conclusive proof that the Mahalaxmi temple was built by the sidas but as they were ruling this area it is possible that they might have built it.
135-A. Inscription on the beam of the structure C.I.I.XO1, VI, No.50.
136. Inl.Ant.Vol.XIV.p.25.
137. Yadav King Singhana's Khidrapur stone. Insc.dt.13th April 1213 L/17/18. As Singhana meda, in Landgrant for the exp.of rituals worship of kopesvara, the temple must haveexisted before Yadav rule which was evidently that of silaharas. The bldg.of the temple must have been during vijayadityas reign as such a magnificent architecture could not be completed during the reign of the last king Bhoja who was defeated by the Yadavas in 1212 A.D. apro. 138. C.I.I.Vol.VI Insc.No.17
139. Ibid L/5"SriTasivarajalachi Karapakadhi Bhutva"

Deities Worshipped:

It will be instructive to examine the type of deities worshipped by the Śilāhāras and their subjects. Among the forty temples mentioned in 67[140] Inscriptions of the Silaharas, or Inscriptions in which they were directly concerned the temples of the deities can be classified as under[141].

Female deities - 6 temples
Jain Tirthankaras - 5 temples
Gautam Buddha - 1 temple
Vishnu - 1 temple
Kartikeya - 1 temple
Siddhagajieśvara - 1 temple
Sun-god - 5 temples
Śiva - 18 temples

Besides these 12 temples were built by Jhanja but at present are not existing[142].

It will be clear from the list[143] that the deity mostly worshipped by the rulers of the Śilāhara clan was Śiva called by different names. This was true about Konkan. In Kolhapur and the Karnataka country the Jain influence was predominant but the female deities enjoyed larger following in Bijapur and

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140. 64 Inscription published in C.I.I.Vol.,VI by V.V.Mirashi
2 Inscriptions No.1 and 2 edited by S.G.Tulpule in 'Prachin Marathi Koriv lakh'1 Inscription published in Ep. Ind.Vol. XXVII (1947-48) Article No.15 by P.B.Desai.
141. The table attached. Appendix 'C' pp.501-5.
142. Nagarjuna's Thane Inscription C.I.I.Vol.VI Ins.No.13L/12/14
143. See below.

Kurnool district along with Jainism. Vithoba of Pandharpur however does not figure anywhere. The worship of Sun God is worth consideration. The temples of Lavanadetya[144] in Bhivandi and Khedaditya[145] in Kolhapur are referred to in the inscription. The temple of Lavanāditya in Bhivandi Taluka however reminds one of the influence of the Sun-worshippers subh as Iranians and the Hunas. A close examination of the scrulpture on the stones now dislodged from the columns and outer-walls show a few sculptured men at work. Their features look different from the ones we find in the contemporary sculpture at Ambernath.

One more noteworthy thing is the absence of the temples of Ganapati, Rama, Hanuman Krishna but the temple of Brahmadeva[146] and Vishnu alongwith sun-god near Kolhapur is worthy of attention. Among the female deities Mahalaxmi of Kolhapur[147] and Bhagavati of Sanjan[148] attracted many devotees from other places also. There was also one temple of Mahalaxmi in Akshi[149] in Kolaba (now Raigad) district.

Katyayani, Mandakini and Padmavati were worshipped in Bijapur-Kurnool areas in which Śilāhara rulers flourished during the 11th and 12th centuries. Padmavati was the benefactory deity of the Jainas[150] and was worshipped by the

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144. C.I.I.Vol., VI.Insc.No.7 Line 62.
145. Ibid.Insc.No.48 Line 25
146. Ibid.Ins.No.48 Line 26.
147. Ibid Ins.No.59 Line 5;
148. Ibid Ins. No.12 Line 17
149. Ibid Ins. No.35 Line 8
150. Ep.Ind., Vol. XXVII. pp. 65-71

Silāhāra rulers of Tardel-Belgaum [151].

Al Idrisi's account[152] of the religions in India in the 11th century will give a general idea of the Gods worshipped by the masses "some recognize the existence of a Creator, but not of prophets, while others deny the existence of both. Some acknowledge the intercessory powers of graven stones, and others worship holy stones, on which butter and oil is poured. Some pay adoration to fire, and cast themselves into the flames. Others adore the sun, and consider it the creator and director of the world. Some worship trees; others pay adoration to serpents which they keep in stables, and feed them as well as they can, deeming this to be a meritorious work. Lastly, there are some who give themselves no trouble about any kind of devotion, and deny everything".

Al Idrisi among the several writers on India of the 11th & 12th centuries is considered to be a very reliable compiler of reports from various travellers as men of intelligence were specially commissioned to travel and collect information for his use[153]. The account of the religious life in Indra during the 10th and the subsequent centuries is reflected in the information given by him.

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151. Ibid.
152. Sachau, I.p.76
153. Ibid p.74f.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THE ŚILĀHĀRA DOMINIONS

In the history of the Deccan, 5th Centuary is the century of the Vakatakas. It is through this dynasty that the high Hindu Civilization of Gupta Empire,(1) and the Sanskrit culture in particular spread throughout the Deccan while competing with Buddhism and Jainism.

The mlecha were crushed by Balaiditya of Magadha or Visnuvyas,(2) Smritis and Puranas were re-edited after the terrible experience of the ravages of the Hunas. The echoes of these are heard through the pages of these sacred books. Further, Mihirkulas exploits inspired the writers to hit upon the idea of Kalki incarnation. Kalki is said to be a son of Visnuvyas.(3) Mihirkula, terror to the Hindus, was the greates enemy of the Buddhists.(4) Also Mihirkula was known as "trikotihara. However the extirpations of the Buddhists was not completely successful as is evident from the fact that Harshavardhan could hold the third Buddist conference at the Nalanda University.

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(1) Dubreuic, G. J. Ancient History of Deccan. p. 69

(2) Hiouen Chawn's life, Beal B. R. W. W. Part I pp. 167-177.

(3) Bhagawatgita, XII, 2-16

(4) Kalhana, Rajatarangini I, p. 310 and 322

Jainism had an open field in the South to propagate the idea of individual 'Moksha' or release from the bondage of Karma. Many royal houses were patrons of Jainism and an impression was created that 30% of the population in the South was Jain.(5)

Social code had to be modified in the wake of these developments. Breaches of law and offences were to attract secular punishments as well as religious sanctions.(6) The only guiding factor was to judge whether the alleged offence was dangerious to the existence of the society or not. This was necessary in view of the assimilation of the Hunas and the Gurjars in the guise of Rapputs in the Hindu society. This was of great consequence.(7) Let us now examine the Social structure during the period.

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(5) Altekar A.S., Rastrakutas etc. p. 310.

(6) Manu IX, 230,240, Br. (S.B.E.) Vol. 33 p. 362 Versa 22 and Paithinasi quoted by P.V.Kane in the History of Dharmasastra, Vol. III p. 387.

(7) Crook, Todis Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan p.p. XXXI sqv; Baines Ethnography, p.31 quoted by Hutton J.H; Caste in India (1961 ed.) p.35

The Caste System :

The information supplied by Alberuni(8) on this is of a general type and would not help us to distinguish the life in Deccan from the rest of India. In the Silahara records there are references to certain castes but they are castes by profession. In as many as 23 inscriptions out of 65, Brahmanas are mentioned as receipients of grants and gifts. The Kayasthas Prabhus, Mhattaras, Shenawais, and ~~xxx~~ suvarnakaras so also the oilmen, potters, Darikas Malakaras and merchants of different types are mentioned, but they are more or less men in connection with their trade and profession but not as a group name for being born in a ~~x~~ particular family. Before we can draw our conclusions on the caste system during Silahara period let us consider some of the actual references.

Brahmanas : There are at least twelve categories of Brahmanas mentioned in the Silahara Inscriptions as shown below :

(1) Mahabramana	(C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 9, Line 38; Ibid. 10 Line 27)
(2) Paramabramana	(Ibid. No. 13, Line 60)

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(8) Sachau I pp. 101f.

(9) C.I.I. Vol VI; No. 21, Line 15.

(3)	Kramavid	(Ibid. No. 6, Lines 72/73)
(4)	Dvivedi	(Ibid. No. 23, Line 69)
(5)	Chaturvedi	(Ibid. No. 48, Line 39)
(6)	Sômayāgi	(Ibid. No. 23, Line 67)
(7)	Brahmanyāni	
(8)	Rigvedi	Ibid No. 14, Line 61; 104, 118
(9)	Karhāṭaka (Karadé)	Ibid No. 59, Line 62
(10)	Karnataka	Ibid No. 14
(11)	Uavalaika	Ibid No. 14-97
(12)	Sahavāsi	Ibid No. 57, L. 22; No. 59, Line 14

There were high expectations from the priests whether they were born in the Brahmana family or were worshippers of deities - the Guravas (Lingapujaris).[9] They were expected to be clean and helpful. They had to give up eating of meat. The Brahmanas were expected to do their sixfold duties (Sad Karma). They were not supposed to accumalate wealth.

Grades of Brahmins as referred to in the Inscriptions :

A sort of gradation among the Brahmins receiving the grants, gifts and endowments is seen in the epigraphic records

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(9) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 21, Line 15.

of the Silaharas e.g. Maha - Brahmana,[10] Parama - Brahmana,[11] Kramavid,[12] Dwivedi[13] and Chaturvedi.[14]

Rituals :

The grants to the priests were not only for their maintenance but also for the performance of the most important six-fold functions, such as performing ritual sacrifice, presiding at these functions, learning, teaching, giving and receiving gifts. The costly vedic sacrificial ceremonies such as Asvamedha, Vajapeya, Hiranyagarbhadāna were not favoured; instead of these, Panchamahāyajnya[15] The five great rituals such as Bali, Charu, Vaisvadeva, Agnihotra, and Kratu were insisted upon. This clearly meant that the Vakataka-Gupta or Rashtrakuta craze for the costly religious ceremonies where a few selected Brahmins were rewarded sumptously, was discouraged.

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(10) Chittaraja's Bhandup Plate, dated 28-10-1026 line 38
" C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 9.

(11) Nagarjunas Thane Plate dated 27-8-1039 Line 60
" Ibid No. 13.

(12) Aparajit's Janjira Plate dated 20-8-993 Lines 72-83
" Ibid No. 5

(13) Vikramaditya's Panhale Plate dated 9-12-1139 Line 69
" Ibid. No. 23

(14) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Plate dated 26-6-1126 Line 39
" Ibid. No. 48

(15) Chittaraja's Bhandup Plate dated 28-10-1026; Lines 39-40
" Ibid No. 9.

The Rastrakuta Dantidurga in the middle of the eighthcentury had performed the Hiranyagarbha[16] ritual at Ujjain and had posted the Vanquished Gurjara Pratihar King as the guard at the function. Earlier in the 7th Century the chalukya Pulakesen II had performed the Asvamedha and Hiranyagarbhadana[17] sacrifices and the fame of these rulers echoed throughout the next five centuries. The popularity of the lesser sacrifices cannot be properly judged as Jainism had many royal followers including the Rashtrakuta Emperor Amoghavarsha,[18] and thus the costly sacrifices or rituals involving killing of animals was avoided.

Karhataka Brahmans (Karade Brahmana) :

As mentioned above the most favoured Karhataka Brahmins out numbered the other immigrants. Most of them belonged to the Rgvedic Branch, some Yajurvedic and a few Sāmavedi[19] also found favour. There are no Atharvedi Brahmanas who received any grants from the Silhāras.

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(16) Yazdani G. The early history of the Deccan I - VI page 253.

(17) Ibid p. 207

(18) B.G.I., ii p. 200.

(19) Chittaraja's Bhandup plate. Lines 71-73, C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 9

The rise of 'Śenavae' Brahmanas in the Konkan is notable.(20) These distinctions of Branches and places of their origins later on helped to form sub-castes among the Deccan Brahmins from the 11th century. onwards.

However we do not come across the local Konkan variety of Brahmanas namely the Chitapavana Brahmana, either in the Konkan or Kolhapur Inscriptions, the Parsurama legend was known to them but the Chitpavanas were not mentioned.(21)

The Brahmanas were ministers of the kings and also some of them appear to have become landlords.(22) The presence of Agraharas(23) also indicated that the colonies of the Brahmanas existed in the Konkan areas. Further we find that the Konkan Silaharas invited Brahmins from M. P. and U.P. also.

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(20) Rattaraja's Balipatan plate dated 24-12-1010 C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 42. Line 44

(21) Chhadvaideva Inscription C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 4.

(22) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 14 Batakeshwaiya Line 108 Jogesvarabhatt Line 158.

(23) Ibid No. 15, Line 60, Ibid No. 36, Line 11

Priestly Functions :

The Brahmanas in the Śilāhara dominions performed the following ceremonies besides the Ashtopachara worship :

(1) Accepted gifts and donation on behalf of temples.

(2) Agnistika Ceremony.

(3) Pancha mahā-yajñya.

(4) Acted as Rajpurohitas.

(5) Astrologers and spiritual guides.

It may be pointed out that the 'Lakshabhojan' feast for a hundred thousand priests was provided by Gandaraditya.(24) There is however no mention of any note worthy priests from his kingdom. If it were arranged in Kolhapur as Dr. V. V. Mirashi maintains, the reference to the Rajpurohita was inevitable. The only mention is that of a minister who arranged it successfully and for which work he was rewarded.

The Brahmins were supposed to be spiritual guides and they had to promote learning. Hardly do we find anything like the learning centre of Salotgi(25) in Bijapur District,

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(24) Ibid No. 45, Line 31

(25) Altekar A.S., The Rastrakutas etc. p. 403

in the areas controlled by the Śilāhāras. The great commentary written on the 'Yajnyavalkyasmriti' was by Aparārkya Śilāhāra King of North Konkan whereas in the same century Mitakshara was written by Vidnyanesvara a scholar at the Chalukya Court. No body has convincingly proved that the 'Apararka Commentary' was not written by Aparārka. Thus we may say that the learning was limited only to the highest in the society or in other words those who received learning from the Brahmin teachers belonged to the high classes and the education of the masses therefore had to be undertaken by the Jainas or Buddhists. The Jaina teachers had superceded the Hindu Brahmins in the field of teaching the elements and the alphabet. 'Sri Ganeshāyanamaḥ' was replaced by ' Om namasidham' and was open for all the people.(26)

The Brahmins in the Śilāhāra dominions were under great pressure. They could not match their intellectual activities with the Jainas during that period. They in fact had to fight a losing battle against the 'Sahaja' philosophy. They did not even express protest, they themselves succumbed to the Tantrism which had become all pervasive.

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(26) Altekar, op.cit., p. 310

Kshatriyas : They are not mentioned as a class in the grants made by the kings; only the reference of Trivarga[27] implies that the Kshatriyas as a class was also implied. The public appeal was obviously not to the fourth class or the 'Sudras'. Their co-operation in such social matters was not desired. The social structure in which one group is exalted and catapulted to a position unapproachable by others and the other group condemned into permanent obscurity was bound to create problems and tensions.

In the case of the Kshatriyas it is the Kula (Clan) that to be mentioned. The Mitakshara, the 11th century commentary on the law book, laid down that Kshatriyas and Vaisyas should adopt the 'gotra' and 'pravara' of their 'purohitas' as they had no 'gotra' of their own.[28]

-:Claim to Kshatriya Status :-

The list of the eminent 36 Kshatriya Kulas are indicated in the Rajatarangini of Kalhana.[29] This book was

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(27) Aparajit's Bhadan plate date 24-6-997 Line 48
C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.7.

(28) Mitaksara on Yajna, I 53

(29) Rajatarangini VII, 1607

composed in Kashmir in the 12th century. The other book which enumerates the Kshatria clans of the Medieval India is the Kumarapalacharit[30] composed in Gujarat. The Silaharas of the Deccan find a place in the list. The epigraphical records do not inform us of any major ritualistic vedic sacrifice performed by the Silaharas. It appears that they were merely donors of charities or gifts but did not participate in any function prescribed for the twice born. King Vijayaditya of the Kolhapur branch of the Silahara lineage however did not hesitate to claim his clan as that of Sri Silahar Mahakshatriya.[31]

No Konkan Silahara claimed this status for his family. This may be because of the belief current in the Konkan area that Parasuram had established the sovereignty of the Brahmin rulers by annihilating the Kshatriyas several times[32] and the Kadambas continued it. However the rebel Śilāhāra king or an usurper, Chhadvaideva of North Konkan, ventured to state that Sāgar (sea) was protected by the progenitor 'seelar' of their clan[33] when tormented by the shafts of Parsuram.

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(30) Kumarapala - Bhupala - Charita. Ksantivijayagani, Bombay 1926; 'Madhyayan - Bharat' - C.V.Vaidya p. 78-79 S.P.Pandit Part II Pune 1923 Kumarapalacharita Bombay-1900.

(31) Vijayaditya's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription dated 1-2-1142 A.D. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 53, Line 3.

(32) Skandapuranantargata Sahyadrikhand, Ed. J. Gerson Da Cunha, Bombay 1877 p. 301.

(33) Chhadwaideva's, Prince of Wales Museum, Copper-plate undated Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVI, p. 290-91.

King Aparārka in whose name the commentary on Yajnyavalkya stands had also given thought to the caste system in the course of his discussion on mixture of castes. The ghost writer or Apararka himself hardly rose above the traditional ideas about 'Chātūrvarnya Dharma' frame work and the social ideas that he might have cherised remained unexpressed.(34) He was satisfied by quoting opposite views of the schools on controversial issues, like knowledge and action, and advocating synthesis of both; a sort of compromise formula(35) for solving the problem, instead of explaining hitherto unnoticed implications and applications of the Chatūrvarnya Dharma.

The Śilāhāra period however shows an intriguing acculturation of the priest and the ruler in the Deccan. This region was from the ancient times considered as the region of non-Aryans. The Sanskrit language and the ritualistic sacrifices had produced a society different from what it was before. The Śilāhāra had ignored the local priests and overawed them by bringing eminent scholars from outside. They married into the royal families, Kadamba, Gangas and Chalukyas and received applause from the celebrated men of letters at that time. Their position was unassailable. They could not be degraded even by the Parśuram mythology(36) which was weighted by the overriding consideration of maintaining the superiority of the priest.

(34) Apararka Vol. I, p. 555.

(35) Ibid Vol. II, p. 1034

(36) J.A. Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu Mythology
S.V.V. Manusamhita and Mitakshara p. 230 sq.

Śilāhāras were by no stretch of imagination Vedic Kshatriyas. They humbly called themselves hailing from (a) Vidyadhar[37] and of (b) Khechar[38] lineage. These names do not indicate bravery and traditional martial virtues. Yet they prevailed upon the scribes, the Brahmins and the Kayasthas to describe them as Kshatriyas.[39] If they were not to acquire political power the priest class would have condemned them to the Śudra position. The building of twelve temples by Janjha and the Crusade of Ananta-pal against the Arab evil-doers or Aparāditya's national struggle against the Kadambas in the first quarter of the 12th Century, more than vindicated their claim to Kshatriya position. It is however unpala-table to read that the descendants of the great sacrificer, the legendary hero Jee-mūtavāhan, should have left the miserable and the down-trodden Śudras to their fate even when they had the ability and the authority to shape the society. Apararka supported the canon law of four-fold caste-ridden society; his benevolence was limited to the 'Trivargas' only.

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(37) Demi - god category of beings Albernnis India Sachau I, p. 91.

(38) Sky-fliers. However Khechar may also mean sunrace or Suryavamsha. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII p. 70.

(39) Note:- The Hiranyagarbha ceremony and the acquisition of Kshatriya caste is discussed by D.D. Kosambi in the culture and civilization p. 171.

While discussing the conditions of the Kshatriyas during the Śilāhāra times the only obvious fact which strikes the eye is that the executives of the government were from the Brahmana and Kshatriya[40] classes. The Brahmanas were also allowed to follow any profession including that of a soldier.[41] The Chalukyas who were the contemporaries of the Śilāhāras and their suzarain from the 11th century onwards were themselves Brahmans as they claimed their descent from Haritaputias,[42] they had ignored the claims of the other 'varnas'.

The Profession of War : During this period, the profession of war might have been thrown open to many other castes due to the exigences of the kingdoms in a constant state of war.[43]

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(40) The names of these executives were ending in 'Prabhu' or 'Pai' or like 'Varman' among the Malwa Kshatriyas.

(41) Manu, XII, 100; (Brahmana who knows the veda deserves to be made a king) Gautam VII, 25 Brahman can weild weapon to save his life. Noble birth and knolege the two most important conditions laid down by Manu, VII, 54 excluded Sudras.

(42) G. Yaz dani parts I - VI p. 204-5.

(43) The Rashtrakuta's wars of expansion and Chalukya's wars of consolidation of their authority, on the dispossition Rastrakuta domains, involved Śilāhāras and other fendatories throughout the 14th Century.

This made A.S. Altekar remark that the position of the Śudras improved considerably and that they were enlisted in the army and had become eligible for the Smārtha rituals.(44) This statement however sounds hollow. The Śudra is a wide category and what we regard as skilled workers and craftsman in the 20th century were actually placed in the Śudra category.(45) Further it may be pointed that Manu's warning that in the kingdom, the strength and treasury of the ruler who carries on his work with the assistance of the Śudras, suffers destruction. This was repeated by Brahaspati,(46) and had not lost its force in the 12th Century, to influence the policies of the State.

The wide spread belief that in the Kali - yuga there(47) would be a degeneration of Varnas (produced social injustice. The untouchable scavenger or a Chandala was treated an 'Antyaja', that is a human living on the animal level or even worse. Apararka felt that he need not be mentioned among the several types of untouchables.(48) In reality however some Śudras were Kings(49) and Harivamsa and some of the

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(44) G. Yazdani I - VI, p. 309.

(45) Hutton S. H. Caste in India, p. 67

(46) Brahaspati, I - 72.

(47) Kane P. V., History of Dharmasashtra, Vol. III, p. 893.

(48) Apararka I, 279.

(49) Beal's Hiouen Thsang, B.R.W.W. Vol II, p. 272

Purānas had to predict that in the Kali age the kings will be mostly Sudras (50) and they would celebrate Asvamedha sacrifices. A dismal prospect for the Brahmanas!

It was predicted that Abhiras, Andhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Yavanas, Kambhojas and Bahlikas would be rulers. (51) This evidently was the echo of the disruption that was brought about by the invasion of the Hunas and the disintegration of the Vakataka - Gupta Empire.

Social conditions do not merely indicate the social structure, but also mark out the changes that took place in that period. Some of the writers maintained that this period witnessed the rise of certain categories of Brahmanas and Kshatriyas :

Among the new type of Brahmins were the Sahavasi Brahmins spoken of in the South Konkan inscriptions. (52) and the Sahavasi Brahmins in the Kolhapur Inscription. (53)

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(50) Hari Vamsha III 3.6, "Aksatriyascarajano Viprah Sudropajivinah".

(51) Ibid

(52) Rattaraja's Balipatan Copper-plate dated 22-5-1008 Line 44 C.I.I. Vol. VI No.42.

(53) Bhoja II's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription dated 25-12-1182 Line 23-24, Ibid. No. 59

The 'Vava-laika' Brahmanas also flourised in North Konkan.(54) The movement of Brahman population from one province to the other had become a common feature. Many Karnataka and Deccan Brahmins migrated to Malwa(55) and vice a versa. Of course these emigrations from the native land were not undertaken for any evangelical purpose to save the Souls of the country of their adoption but simply to maintain themselves and their families by pursuing non-traditional professions(56) or for receiving sumptous gifts from upstart kings.(57) The intellectuals of the Hindu society were clever enough to give liberal intepretations to the ancient laws to favour their 'theory of Birth' as the basis of progress of the human societies.(58) They were however callous to the sufferings of the umprivelged Sudras, who however were given a respectable place in the Buddhist Sanghas(59) after their acceptance of the path of the Englightened one. Besides the Panch Dravida Brahmanas, other privileged castes were gradually rising.

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(54) Mummuni's Thane plate Line 97 (C.I.I. Vol. VI no. 14)

(55) E.I. IX pp. 1156; I.A.,XI, pp. 52 and 54

(56) M.S. X 81

(57) Kane P.V. Dharmashastra Vol. III, p. 893, Coments of Kosambi D.D. on the Purana writers are noteworthy 'The culture and civilization of Ancient India p.171.

(58) Rajatarangini V. 77

(59) Kosambi D.D., The culture and civilization of Ancient India, p. 111

Mr. Jackson writing in the Bombay Gazetteer (1909) observes, " One may reasonably infer that this period (Śilāhara period) witnessed the settle-ment of both Pathare and Kayasta Prabu as well as the Yajurvedi Brahmanas (some times called Palshikaras) and of the other castes conected with them; for all the Yajurvedi traditions point to their having come originally from the Godavari valley; where Taǥara also lies."(60)

The Kayasthas, that is the lower bureacracy, was a group of skilled writers of decrees, and government letters and official records. They served the masters loyally. Their services were in great demand especially by new rulers who founded kingdoms. That was an opportunity for their gainful employment. Pratipal Bhatia has the following remarks to offer.

"The kayasthas, who were known to Yajnyavalkya, only as writers and accountants seem to have in our period (8th to 13th century) -- become grouped in one caste. They were now associated with judiciary, general administration and accounts and several departments of state and a few of the Parmara grant were drafted by the Kayasthas".(61)

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(60) B. G. Vol. II, p. 14

(61) Pratipal Bhatia, 'The Parmaras' p. 281.

Dr. V. V. Mirashi is of the opinion that during this period a separate caste of Kayasthas (62) was formed and they were usually mentioned as scribes. In Soddhala's 'Udayasundari' the myth of the origin of the Kayastha is put forward by the author who himself was a Kayastha. According to soddhale Kayastha's were the attendants of Lord Siva. They were serving Sankara whose body had the form of the sea. Thus these attendants were to be known as Kayastha, 'Kaya' meaning body 'Stha' meaning attendants. The attendants on the body of Sankara in the form of the sea (63) that is the meaning of Kayastha.

The views of the scholars mentioned above would lead to the conclusion that the rise of Kayasthas, that is a subordinate bureacracy was inherent in the structure of the monarchical government. The Kayasthas, though mainly a class of the society serving the government, in most of the provinces in India, showed a marked difference in the areas of the Doab between Tungabhadra and Krishna. In the Raichur Nellore region Gangaya Sahim founded a Kayastha dynasty of

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(62) C.I.I. Vol. VI, Intro; p. LIX.

(63) C.I.I.; Vol. IV, p. 271

Vallurupattanam in the beginning of the 13th century.(64) and the kingdom was expanded by Ambadeva. The dynasty came to an end when Malik Kafur attacked the South in 1310 A.D.

It will be clear from the above discussion that Kayastha like Bhoja and Rashtrakuta was not an ethnic group. These were designations of the administrators of the state. They might have formed into social status groups(65) and in the course of time become castes in different provinces, hardly establishing any all India link.

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(64) Yazdani G., Vol. VII - XI p. 619, 638 - 9.

(65) Hutton J. H. Caste in India, Oxf. Press Third ed. 1961 p. 190. Note: Explaining the evolution of castes in India Hutton observes," The Brahamanik codes have insisted that every community should obey its own rules. Inevitably, the communities incorporated into such a society would overlap; a person belonging to one group by tribal descent might belong to another by occupation. Hence perhaps castes of mixed origin, like the Prabhu, Karan or Kayasthas not to say Brahman. Came into existence.

Similarly the Vaishyas[66] the traditionale trading and merchant communities formed castes in the Deccan. The merchant guilds which we encounter in the Kolhapur Karnatak regions,[67] the Sreni and the merchant guilds on the Western Coast, during our period have many things in common but in some respects they were different. The Deccan merchant - guilds called the 'Vir - Vananja[68] of the Ayyavole, and the Hayyamana and Nakaras of the Western - coast were different in composition and organization.[69] The 'Vir - Vananja' claimed a common descent and original home; they had overseas and inter - state branches. They even maintained private guards or comman-does. The 'Hayyaman'[70] and 'Nakara'[71] were local business organizations. The traditionary Vaisya

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(66) Yajnyavalkya 2, 192.

(67) Ep. Ind., Vol. XXXIV, p. 292

(68) Gandariditya's Kolhapur, Stone-Insc. Line 12; Vijayaditya's Miraj Stone-Ins. Line 2.

(69) Chhitara's Chinchani Ins. Line 10; Aparajit's Bhadan Charter Line 65.

(70) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 12, Line 10; Ibid No.15 L. 43

(71) Ibid No. L. 65

Varna as such did not exist through out India. It had acquired high position in the Magadhan Empire. The advent of the Arab merchants in the early Christian era added one more dimension to the existing complexities. Later, the Muslim invasion of Sind by Mahammad Ibn-Elkasim in the 8th century and the holy wars of Sultan Mahmud against the idolaters and the non-believers in Islam at the beginning of the 11th century, resulted in the establishment of the maritime superiority of the Arabs.(72) and the Turks. The important effect of these developments as Basham(73) has pointed out was the intensification of religious prejudices and the decay of Indian maritime activity. The Vir - Vananja and the srenis had to adjust to this change.

Socialising Policies of the Śilāharas :

The problem of social status in the context of Vedic culture modified by the ideas and institutions of the Dakshinapath appears to be a complex one. The status of the Northern invaders like the legendary hero Rama or Parśuram and the historical hero, Samudragupta of Magadha is usually treated differently from the subsequent invaders from Central Asia.

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(72) Lallanji Gopal The economic life in India, p. 128.

(73) Basham A.L. Arts and Letters, XXIII, p. 69.

The hordes of Yavanas, mlechhas - Śakas - kshatrupas, Kushanas and the Arabs and the Turks who followed them a few centuries later, brought with them different levels of cutlures and civilizations. The social status of those who accepted Hinduism was determined with reference to the vitual status assigned to them and their ability to grant (74) land for the Brahmins determine their social and political status. Pollution the over powering concept which ruled the Indian mind was controlled through the functioning of two taboos the taboo regarding kinship in the context of marriage and sitting and eating at the same table. (75)

As is clear from Puranas Kshatriya Status of the rulers had to be validated by the Brahmanas. (76) After the Arab invasion of Sind in the beginning of the 8th Century, all the local rulers struggled to trace their origin to Suryavama or Candravamsa. The Śilāhāras were however content to trace their origin not from any epic hero but from their tribal chief who had sacrificed himself to save the helpless Naga. (77) Further they did not feel it necessary to perform 'Hiranyagarbhadana' ritual like the Chalukyas and the Rashtrakutas (to assume) Khatriya status. They assumed it as of right. (78)

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(74) Vishnu Purana IV - 1
(75) Romila Thapar Ancient Indian Social History, p. 125
(76) Vishnu Purana IV 21-24.
(77) Aparajitas Janjira Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.5 V.16
(78) Vijayadityas Kolhapur Stone-Inscription Ibid. No. 53 Line 3, The Silahar race is mentioned here as a warrior race (Mahakshatriyanvaya)

This was obviously a different idea if not a revolutionary one. It quietly ignored the validation by the priest and assumed the actual status without worrying about the ritual status.

The Chaturvarna frame and the proliferation of commentaries on the Smritis were assuming disturbing proportions in the Silahara period, and the rituals and the social rules were becoming more comprehensive. The social conditions and social policies thus cannot be understood without reference to the commenteries and also the actual composition of the society in the 8th to 10th century Deccan.

The composition of the population of the regions in which the Silaharas were exercising some political authority, that is roughly the areas of modern Maharashtra except Vidarbha, some areas of Bijapur, Belgaum districts, Kurnool district and i the out-lying areas, they provides us with a clue to understand the social conditions prevailing in the early middle age. The population at that time as now was mostly rural.

Out of the 99, ooo.(79) villages and hamlets that constituted the three Maharashtras having roughly ten Silahara

(79) 'Desh' is equal to 30,000 gramas and the three Maharashtra had 99,000 villages, J.O.I.H. Golden Jubilee Volume ed. T. K. Ravindran p. 281.

principalities the uninhabitated villages would be about one third and the density of population would be less than a hundred in each village. The total population of region, would be about nearly 50 to 60 lakhs[80] and that of Konkan including Lata did not exceed 5 Lakhs[81] on the optimistic calculation.

The tribal population of the Sahyadri Ghat, the Bhilas of Satpuda, the Dhangars of Sholapur Satara, the Agris, Kolis, Warlis, Thakurs and Katkaris of the Konkan and Vadars and Belders of the Bijapur. Belgaum area, make the composition rather hetrogenous.[82] The most of the 'Kunbi' population depending on livestock grazing, forest gathering and shifting cultivation would show that the Brahmana, Kshatriya and Vaishya 'Trivargas'[83] had little significance to them. What we discussed above is applicable only to a fringe of the society

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(80) 3% to 5% of the total population of 14 Crores would give this figure. The present ratio of the population of Maharashtra to the total population is 8% approximately. Only limiting the attention to the four districts of Karat Kolhapur, Belgaum, Bijapur and Sholapur and the Konkan would justify this calculation.

(81) The population of Thana district in 1882 was 9 lakhs B. G. Vol. XIII, part ii p. 2.

(82) Maharashtra Parichaya op. cit., pp. 83-86

(83) Mummuni's Prince of Wales Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.15, L. 43

and the large masses of people having first entered into the agricultural stage with the compulsion of state - service either as ~~a~~ labourers or as ~~a~~ soldiers would make civilizing influence of the Varna system sound hollow. There were market towns and capital cities, port towns and well-protected fortresses where the ruling élite and the merchants lived in great comfort.

The Family :

In early medicval Deccan there was a joined family system, there were hardly any instances of separation(84) of families. In Maharashtra during the Yadav period we come across cases where the house-property was divided but land was cultivated on a share crop basis by the divided families(85). Similarly the religious functions were celebrated together(86) and on many occasions the separate units of the families combined.

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(84) E. I. Vol. V, p. 27

(85) Kolte V. B., Sri Govind Prabhu Charitra, Malkapur (1944) p. 303.

(86) I.A. Vol. XIV, p. 315

It is very instructive to see the provisions of the division of the property and succession rights[87] between father and son. These tradition of Yajnyavalkya received an added sanction during the Śilāhāra period. The Mitakshara of Vidnyanesvara and Apararka-tika on Yajnyavalkya Smriti, had become a law in the Deccan. A detailed study of the succession rights was made in these books and they were regarded as standard reference texts for deciding the issues concerning family affairs.

The share of women in the common ancestral property was also treated in these texts. A daughter could also claim the ancestral property,[88] in certain conditions. Vidnyanesvara in his great wisdom interpreted the 'Stridhana' woman's property in a border sense.[89] According to him the six types of woman's property is the minimum limit, the maximum would be to accept her claim[90] on those articles over which she exercises authority.

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(87) Mitakshara, 2.121.

(88) E. I. Vol. III, p. 216

(89) Mitakshara, 2.113

(90) Ibid.

Conditions seem to have been favourable for women of the higher strata of Society. In the South Konkan we find Queen Vijayabhattarika of Chandraditya Prithvi Valbha Maharaja, ruler of South Konkan and the elder brother of Chalukya Emperor Vikramaditya I, issuing two grants[91] in her own name. She was a poetess who was highly praised by the writers of the time.

Other high - ranking women were the Princess Kunkumadevi and queen molher Vinayavati, sister and mother of Chalukya king Vinayaditya who took initiative in making grants to learned Brahmins[92] and installation of images of Brahma Vishnu and Mahesh in the capital, Vatapi[93] respectively.

During the Rashtrakuta period there was also one instance where a crowned queen Silabhattarika made a grant of land without any express mention of her husband, Dhruva.[94] There are however many instances where princess of the royal blood from Badami and Kalyani Chalukyas actively participated in the public affairs.

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(91) I.A. Vol. VII, p. 163-4; Ibid p. 45-56 (Kochre grant)

(92) Badami Inscription, I.A. Vol. VI, p. 363

(93) K. I. p.3.

(94) E. I. Vol. XXII, p. 98

Akkodevi, Sister of Chalukya King Vikramaditya V (1008 - 1015 A.D.) who showed the courage and ability to command troops.[95] and participate in the actual war is the most famous of them all. The Kakatiya Queen Rudramba or Rudramadevi, (1259-95) daughter and successor of Kakatia king, Ganapati, is the shining example[96] of woman's ability to govern a Kingdom in the faces of internal opposition and external invasion.

The Silahara women did not play such a prominent role. However they initiated certain religious functions of granting lands to religious institutions or making administrative arrangement with such a view in mind.[97]

The female members of the royal families were mostly used for matrimonial alliances for political purpose. This was done by Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and their fendatories including the Śilāhāras. It had become a very outstanding features of the diplomacy during the medicval age.

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(95) I. A. Vol. XVIII, p. 270-5.

(96) Yazdani G. I-VI pp. 620-642

(97) Mummuni's Dive Agar Charter confirming the administrative arrangement made by his Queen Padmaladevi C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 16, L. 12-13.

The woman of the royal Household also figure in the tragedies of being the plunder on the battle field when the defeated surrendered even their queens.(98) Another tragic feature was the immolation(99) of the queens and the sad life of the dowager queen.

The position of Women :

Woman from the aristocratic families attended the Royal Court without a Veil(100) or Purdah. This was the observation of Suleiman Saudagar of the 9th Century.

Dr. A. S. Altekar was of the opinion that no purdah was observed in the Deccan of our period.(101) However J. H. Hutton(102) observes that the combination of a patrilinial system with the practice of taking wives from a matrilinial society made purdah system quite necessary. Keeping aside the theoretical aspect and concentrating on the available historical facts, it may be pointed out that

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(98) Yazdani G. I - VI p. 338

(99) Abu Zaid, Elliot and Dowson Vol. I p. 6;
Alberum's India Sachau II p. 155

(100) Abu Zaid, Elliot & Dowson Vol. I, p. 11

(101) Altekar A.S. Rashtrakutas etc. p. 343

(102) Hutton, J. H. Caste in India, p. 158

Chalukya princesses participated in the public affairs. Akkadevi, the sister of Chalukya Emperor Vikramāditya and wife of the Kadamba King Jaykesi II commanded troops; when we try to find out examples from the Śilāhara dynasties we do not come across any such example. At the most we find ~~a~~ only Padmaladevi wife of Mummuni making grant of a village. We do not come across any reference to the participation of women from the lower levels of the society in the important public functions.

The position of women can be indirectly inferred from titerature and sculpture. We find that during the early obedieval age women of marriageable age were used in the political game either to make a reconciliation after war,(103) or to promote the alliance against the third party.

The diplomacy by marriage alliance seems to be the ingenious interpretation of Arthaśastra's tenets of diplomacy called Sadgunas,(103-A) or six qualities. The Kings and princes openly boasted that they were a cupid to the wives of the fallen enemy;(104) such and such a King initiated the wives of the enemy, and ascended the flights of heaven[104-A] in the widowhood. There are references to the abduction of

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(103) Narendra Inscription Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 310
(103A) Arthaśastra 7.1.6.12.
(104) Anantadeva I's Kharepatan Copper-plate,
(104A) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No 19 verses 18 and 19.

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queens from the battle field as the Chola King did to the Chalukya Emperor.(105)

These instances lend support to the indignity of women especially of the royal families.

The other source of information about the position of women is obviously 'Dharmasastra', the Law ofland. Apararka in his commentry on Yagnyavalkya Smriti had argued regarding the share of a widow in the property of her husband when she was without an issue. He was liberal enough to put down that a woman of good character after the death of her husband should be entitled for a legitimale share in her husband's property.(106) We can therefore say that the Silahara society was gradually costing off some of the regidity of the 'Manava Dharmaśastra' and was considering the social claims of women from the humanitarian point of view.

The position of women can also be judged by references to the 'Svayamvara' of Chandralekha and the description given in the Vikramānkdevacarita(107)

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(105) Yazani G. I - VI, p. 338; Sastri Nilakanta K.A. 'A history of South India', p. 178.

(106) Apararka, 2, p. 742

(107) Bilhana, Vikramankadevacarita. Ch. 8 V-2.

The sculpture on the walls of the temples provide some clues to the position of women. There are women attendants dressed cutely or scantily as attendants on royal personalities. The references to courtezans in the Silahara inscriptions are frequent.(108) It shows that after the defeat of a King even his queens, princess and the courtezans became the property of the conqueror.[108-A]

In the sculptures we find dancing ~~gri~~ girls engraved on the walls. Dancing may be considered as a great art now but dancing girls never enjoyed that prestige in the Hindu society a thousand years ago.[108B]

Devadasi : The existence of harems and references to courtezans lead us to the obvious conclusion of women with easy virtue. A direct referance to Devadasi family is found in South Konkan Silahara Rattaraja's Inscription. (They were called 'Darikas'. This is the only reference to Devadasis in the Silahara family. However indirect references to this profession is found in Jogesvari Inscription.

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(108) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 46, L. 40; Ibid 60, L. 28
(108-A) Supra pp. 284-5
(108B) Hutton. J. H. op. cit p. 102.

The reference to dancing girls attacked to the famous Somnath temple in Sourastra is found in Al-Kazwini's account.(109) He mentions that 500 damsels sung and danced at the door of the temple. The royal personage of Silaharas family, Arikesari and the Kadamba King Sastha II had visited the temple and it is but natural that the institution of dancing girls attached to temples was adopted in the Southern regions also.

Once again we can refer to the temple sculpture to find out the confirmation of this inference. In the Ambernath temple(110) we have shown that folk dances and court - dancing were two self-exclusive categories. The folk dances were not indicative of any artistic talent but it evinced the group joy, hopes, fears and beliefs. The women are scantily dressed as they could not afford to wear a loose and a full dress. The dancing girls at the court the courtizans are dressed scantily to reveal the inner feeling effectively and so the body is made to subserve that purpose moste elegantly with an indefference to wordly consideration of covering the body with clothes, the walls of Ambernath temple are covered with Sculptures of such damsels

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(109) Elliot and Dowson Vol. I, p. 98

(110) See the full account in Appendix B at the end.

with erotic poses wearing head gears and looking submissive. The sculpture of a princess in her dressing room holding a mirror in the hand gives us some idea of the pleasures of life.

The other women that we find on the temple wall-sculpture are the working women. Some tending cattle others carrying water and a few attending upon high-born men and woman.

Marco Polo makes a reference to the temple girls.(111) It seems the amorous poses of the beautiful dances were regarded as a severe test of a would be Sanyasi. There are many episodes in the literature where lovely women run after the aseetics or scholars.(111-A)

The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang does not mention Devadasi. Alberuni the 11th Century Persian Scholar made an attempt to explain the presence of the dancing girls in the following way.

"Hindus are not severe in punishing whoredom. The fault, however, in this lies with the kings not with the nation. But for this, no Brahmana or priest would suffer in their idol-temples the women whosing, dance and play. The kings make them an attraction for their cities, a bait of

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(110-A) Case study of Ambernath Temple. pp 519-20 below
(111) Marco Polo II p. 366
(111A) e.g. Sage Viśvamitra-Tilóttamā story.

pleasure for their subjects, for no other. By the revenues which they desire from the business both as fines and taxes, they want to recover the expanses which their treasury has to spend on the army.(112)

This appears to be a bitter truth. However it must be pointed out that the worship of 'Śiva' and the Puranic deities had two distinct manners, one the Angabhoga that is bathing the deity, applying Sandal wood paste, offering made with incence, lamp etc; the other manner was the Rangabhoga.(113) In this manner of worship, the entertainment of the deity with singing and dancing was necessary. Devadasi is a servant of God dedicating her talents to propitiate him not for her sake but for the community.(114) She was not regarded as an object of pleasure but was regarded as essential for the spiritual life of the community. If it would not be so the conservative priests would have opposed it with vchemence and would not have allowed the morals of the society to be lowered in the manner discribed by Alberuni for a f chunks to support the army.

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(112) Alberuni's India Sachau II p. 157

(113) J. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, p. 8

(114) Hutton, J. H. op. cit. p. 102

Dr. Alteker puts a very liberal meaning on the institution of Devadasi.(115) He explains the origin of this institution to provide good music at the time of the worship of the deity and an entertainment at popular festivals. The comments of J. H. Hulton on this institution are however very enlightening. He says "the Western Asiatic affinities of the Devadasi custom of the Tamilnad, for it is perhaps only there that the custom is still general, are clear enough. Besides the familiar account given by Herodotus of the offering made by women of their chastity in the temple of Myhitta at Babylon to which custom is made and in the 43rd verse of the ~~six~~ E. Epistle of Jeremy in the book of apocrayphal Prophet Baruch Lucien mentions the same custom at Babylon in Phonicia; there the oddess of a temple, connected at a very early date with Egypt was a fish from the waist downwards and had by her temple a poet of Sacred fish with a Stone Chattri in the midst and a woman had the alternative of shaving her head and offering her hair instead of her chasity.(116)

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(115) Altekar A. S. op. cit. p. 295

(116) Hutton J. H. Caste in India, p. 163

Strabo (117) refers to the dedication of male and female slaves in the service of God. He also mentions that most, illustrious people dedicated their Virgin daughters for such prostitutions under the sanction of religion. (~~117~~)

The parallel between the people of Syria, Asia Minor and South India in this respect may not be a coincidence. It offers a link between Dravidian India and the Eastern Mediterranean. The similarity of the practice is so close that it would be legitimate to say that these practices were introduced by the sake Palhava and the Hunas after the fall of the Gupta Empire.

A question may be asked whether these Devadasis were treated as slaves or were just tolerated as talented damsels with freedom of sex. As stated before Rattaraja in his inscription dated 1008 A.D. (118) referred to them along with other temple - employees, and the family of Darikas is mentioned which shows that the society had adopted a liberal attitude towards them and given them a status definitely higher than slaves. No king would collect custom duty to defray the charges of slaves, because slaves constitute a part of the

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(117) Strabo, XII, 559, Quoted by Hutton op.cit. pp.164-65.

(118) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.41.

property and there was no custom to collect slave-tax. In the South the custom of Devadasi was prevalent in the Chola Empire. Rajaraja Chola at the beginning of the 11th century transferred as many as 400 dancing girls from various places of his Kingdom to the Tanjore temple.(119) The Śilāhāras of Kolhapur and South Konkan might have been influenced by this custom. The only difference is that as Kolhapur was dominated by Jainism in general and except the celebrated temple of Mahalaxmi the other temples in and around Kolhapur were Jain temples, the question of 'Rangabhoga' did not arise. Hence the institution of Devadasi in the Kolhapur might not be prevalent.

Kolhapur was one of the strongest Śaktipitha(120) D. C. Sircar furnishes a list of 56 Centres of Saktasangam Tantra in which Maharashtra, Konkan and Karnataka are mentioned.

The other great Saktipita was Tuljapur, Matapur and Saptasringi and the practice of Devadasi could not have been avoided at these temples during the 10th and 11th centuries. It is difficult to agree with M. G. Panse when he concludes that like Gujarat in the North and Karnataka in the South.

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(119) S.I.I., II pp. 278 ff.

(120) Devi Bhagat 7, 35, 5-30 Sircar, D. C. 'Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India 1960.

Maharashtra did not allow any quarters to the immoral institution of prostitution under the sanction of religion.(121) It is a fact that even now we find the Vaghya (boy) and Murli (girl) dedicated to the service of Khandoba and Yellamma.(122)

Marriage and Poly-gamy :

Although in the later Vedic period and especially during the period when the Puranas were re-edited there was a general impression that the story of Rama and Sita signifying the sacred bond between man and woman might have set the pattern for the common man to follow. As history of the common people was a matter of inference we have to consider the example of the royal families only from which we gather the impression that marrying more than one wife was the accepted practice. ~~As already mentioned about the diplomacy by marriage was a respectable~~ pattern ~~there was no restriction on the number of wives a prince could marry. In case of the Silaharas, Mummuni, "the Minaketu" had more than one wife~~

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(121) Panse M. G. Yadavkalin Maharastra Pune 1963 p. 218

(122) Chitra Subramaniam has given a case study in an article on the Devadasis God's mistresses of Saundatt; temple in Belgaum district in the Fort nightly issue of "India to-day" dated 30th September 1983.

~~was the accepted practice~~. As already mentioned about the diplomacy by marriage was a respectable pattern. There was no restriction on the number of wives a prince could marry. In case of the Śilāhāras, Mummuni, "the Minaketu" had more than one wife as Padmaladevi[123] is mentioned as his chief wife. The Chalukya Emperor Vikramaditya VI had married the princess from the Śilāhāra family besides his other wives. That marriage was by 'Svayamvar.[124] Further it may be stated that kings maintained harems[125] (Antapurah).

Early marriage of girls was the accepted practice. The marriageable age of girl was 12 and that of boy was 16 years.[126] This practice prevailed from the remote past but marriage of a young girl with old man as represented by the example of Kadamba King Sashta II who married the daughter[127] of King Mummuni may be quoted as the lone instance. However there is no other proof to suggest such type of marriages.

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(123) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 16, Line 12.

(124) Bilhana, Vikramankalevacharita, Cantos VIII.

(125) Anantadeva I's Kharepatan Copper-plate IX
C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.19, L. 41.

(126) Alberuni's India, Sachau II p. 131 and p. 154

(127) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 310

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Alberuni a famous traveller of 11th century A.D. wrote about the marriages in India. He observed that the Hindu marry at a very young age. A man may marry one to four wives. He is not allowed to take more than four; but if one of his wives die, he may take another one to complete the legitimate number. If a wife loses her husband by death, she can not marry another man. She has only to choose between two things -- either to remain widow as long as she lives or to burn herself. As regards the wives of kings, they are in the habit of burning them whether they wish or not, by which they desire to prevent any of them by chance commiting something unworthy of the illustrious husband. He further states that the number of wives a Hindu could marry depended upon his castes, accordingly, a Brahman may take four, a Kshatriya three, a Vaisya two wives and a Sudra one.

The intercaste anuloma marriages were tolerated by the society but it was not accepted as a tradition.

Ibn Khurdadba writing about the state of affairs in Western India during our period, states that the 'anuloma' intercaste marriages used to take place.(129)

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(128) Sachau, II, pp. 154-55

(129) Elliot, I pp. 16-17

Alberuni noted that although the 'anuloma' intercaste marriage were theoretically allowed but actually Brahmanas married women of their own caste only.(130)

The Silahara society was controlled by precepts of Chaturvarnya and the kings were bent upon upholding the traditions. Aparaditya(131) who had written the commentary on Yajnavalkya Smriti and Kolhapur King Gandaraditya(132) who firmly stated 'Manusutram Nijeshtram' the code of Manu was his guide could hardly have envisaged a great change in the Varnaśrama dharma. They had to uphold the tradition according to which denial of higher education to the low classes was one the king's sacred duties.

The only training open to young men according to the tradition was the apprenticeship in the trade of his father. In the early medieval age theoretical knowledge was not desired by the common people as they were more concerned with the practical aspects of their trade and had become more utilitarian than their predeccssors.

Occupation and Social Status :

There is an interesting point regarding the relation between occupation and social status. The Brahmin Community

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(130) Sachau Vol. II, pp. 155-6
(131) Apararkatika, Vol. I, p. 1
(132) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 50 V. 2.

who followed a number of professions. They were allowed (133) to do so. The association of Brahmins however did not improve the Social status of these occupations. The agriculturist remained Sudras in the eyes of the priest community, although they prcached that agriculture was a noble profession. Some Brahmins were craft men (134) but the engraving on stones was not upgraded simply because the Brahmins under took that work.

Social Habits : Meat - eating

Dr. Mirashi found a gradual change in the social matters and he refers to the question of eating meat. He quotes the Yajnavalkya smriti (135) to explain that meat-eating at the 'Madhuparka' and 'Sraddha' ceremonies was allowed and goes on to say that Apararka the Silāhāra king and writer of the 'Apararkatika' explained that this need not be practised during the kali age. Instead of killing the cow, gold could be substituted for that. This was of course a welcome change for the priests but the restraint on meat eating was more as a ex result of popularity of Jainism and its dectrine of non-killing of living beings.

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(133) Yajnavalkya III, 42.

(134) Vipra Vamiyena engrave the Kasheli grant of Bhoja II of Kolhapur dated 27-6-1191 A.D. line 44, C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.60

(135) Yajnavalkya I 258 - 26 C.I.I. 11 p. LX

The doetrine regarding possession of property if it were followed in the same spirit would have brought about a significante social change as the share (136) in the wealth of the rulers and the merchants of the Brahmanas in the name of religion would have been available for distributing it to the socially degraded and unprivileged classes.

This was however expecting too much in the feudal society bound by tradition and plagued by superstitions where social nobility was restricted by all sorts of ingenious taboos.

Was Social mobility a condition to Social Progress ?

In our period all the social groups including the various grades of Brahmins had not accepted surnames and were not known by a group name or any such distinguishing marks except by their hereditary trade or professon. There were group of blacksmitas, potters, shoe makers, washer-men and soon. They lived indifferent parts of the villages and towns and could be easily identified either by the traditional pattern of vilage and town layout or by outward signs of the structure and colours of their houses.(137)

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(136) Romila Thapes "Ancient Indian Social History, Dana and Dakshina as exchange pp. 105-119.

(137) The lay out of town and village is shown in Atrisamhita I, 388.

The Artrisamhita supplied the theorical back ground that even among Brahmanas all are not equal. Magadha Brahmana was to be treated as inferior although he might be a learned Scholar,(138) Alberuni observed(139) that in the 10th 11th centuries Brahmanas hesitated to cross the Sindhu or the Chambal rivers and travel North.

The degradation of the non-Brahmina Castes was already started by the tradition(140) and advocated by the writers of Smritis and the Puranas during the Gupta - Vakataka period. Dr. Altekar remarks(141) that trade, crafts and industries were now thrown open to the Sudras by the writers like Brhadyama, Usanas and Devala. This was quite in keeping with the advocacy that ~~some~~ in the Kali Age except the Brahmanas the rest were all Sudras.(142)

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(138) Also the condemned practices of Kumerilabhatta (650 A.D. - 750 A.D.) are detailed in the History of Dharmasastra Vol. III. pp. 848-49 by P.V. Kave.

(139) Sachau II, pp. 134-35. Brahmanas were not allowed to cross either of the frontiers (Sindu and Carmanavati) so as to enter the country of the Turks or of the Karnata

(140) Sachau II, p. 136, If the Sudra or Vaishya recited the Veda, he is accused by the Brahmana before the ruler, and the letter will order his tongue to be cut of

(141) Altekar, Rashtrakutas, p. 334.

(142) Kane P.V., Vol. III, pp. 850 and 853 (Kumarila maintained that Smriti was a greater force than achara).

This theoretical levelling of the Kshatriyas Vaishyas and Sudras however had very little effect on the actual status of the social groups. Brahmanas who were extolling the gifts of cows and gold were now themselves demanding the grants of land. This was an indirect result of the agricultural economy in place of food - gatherings and cattle-raising one. The second important factor was the climate of constant warfare. The obvious effect of these two conditions was therefore the hardening of the feudal system of agriculture and the emergence of farmer-soldier in place of a professional one. The Muslim invasion of the most sacred land of Somnath and the disgracing of the priests with all their so called mysterious powers and spells and the superstitious that they had propogated had exposed them to ridicule. They were making frantic efforts to regain their position by some cunning and new methods of perpetuation of the ignorance and submissness of the masses.

Superstitions : The gullibility of the masses of the people was alarming. In studying some of the superstitions of this important period we may have a clear understanding of the inner life of the Deccan people during the transitional period both in terms of political institutions and social structure.

In the Northern Maharashtra regions like Vidarbha, and the upper Godavari regions, the lingering influence of Buddhism (143) had spread the Jataka stories among the people whereas in the Southern areas andee despecially regions in the Karnataka borders of to-day, the Jaina legends and myths had their sway. The Kalakcharya (144) Story was prevailing on the widest scale during the period and even Konkan might have been influenced by that. In order to counteract the influence of the Buddhist and Jain religion and the Jakatas, the Puranas had produced hundereds of fantastic stories emphasising the importance of worship and the leadership of the Brahmanas. The ideas about sin, Salvation, importance of charity and caste-religion was repeatedly impressed on the minds of the people (145). ~~masses of people~~.

The Buddist and the Jainas emphasised the importance of knowledge and learning. They had received patronge but the period 8th to 10th century does not witness the rise of

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(143) The Kanheri caves and the Kaves at Kava and Bhaye

(144) Brown N. The story of Kalaka, pp. 25-35; Nawab S.M. The Collection of Kalaka story, pt. I, pp. 1-32.

(145) E. I. XIII, p. 317

another Nalanda University. The only centre of learning namely Kalas[146] in Dharwar district and Salotgi[147] in Bijapur district where Agraharas conducted these centre show some educational efforts under the Rashtrakutas. The capital cities of the Rashtrakuta, Chalukya, Silaharas, Kadambas and Yadavas were the centres of higher learning but they were accessibly only to the privileged few Paithan and Nasik figured as the leading centres of Hindu learning but it was mainly in theological studies that they provided instruction. The colleges at Vaghali in Khandesh and Ummachige in Dharwar districts catered to the needs of the worldly and spiritual learning in the 11th century.[148]

These Agraharas and Gurukulas and the holy places where intellcetual pursuits were undertaken, were merely islands surrounded by an ocean of confused mass of thinking about worldly matters. The ghosts, spells.[150] and offerings to Gods were the accepted practices even among the higher levels of Society. The frequent reference to the dread in connection with the Snake[151] is found in the Silahara inscriptions which shows that the medical science and the scientific spirit was not created by these Agraharas and Brahmapuris.

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(146) Altekar A.S. Rashtrakutas etc. p. 403.
(147) Ibid
(148) E.I.Vol. XX, p.67.
(149) Lilacharitra op.cit. uttarardha part I.
(150) Ibid Lila 60
(151) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 45, Line 21.

In all schools at Agrahara and holy places education was imported through the medium of Sankrit[152] and the subjects taught were gramma vedanta, Neemausa, logic etc., the local languages could hardly therefore develop. In this respect the Jainas had a progressive view. They adopted canarese for their instruction and therefore they could get a favourable response from the people and the rulers. It was only in 1158 that Canaras was adopted as a medium of instruction in one of the schools in Talgunda[153] in the Karnatak and in 1290 besides Canarese Marathi was used as a medium of instruction in the university of Narsipuram.[154]

Royal patronage to literature :

The Silaharas had extended their patronage to the famous writers of that time Soddola, Somadeva and Karnaparya were the three who received their favour.

As Dr. Moraes[155] has pointed out that the students be-took themselves to the 'agraharas', the 'brahmapuri' and the 'mathas' for higher education. The learned Brahmans of

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(152) Alteker A.S. Education in Ancient India Banaras 1943, p.27.
(153) E.C.Vol. VII, Shikarpur, No. 185
(154) E.C. III, No. 27.
(155) Moraes G. M. Kadamba Kula, p. 287
(156) E.C. VII, Sk. 176.

profound learning dissaminated it to all and sundry, in all branches of human knowledge " It was here that people of diverse races and religious assembled."(156) It will be futile to generalise that education was open to all. It was the monopoly of the twice-born and the masses of people had to be satisfied with the Kirtana, Pravachanas in the temples and the superstitions as described above.

-: Patronage of others :-

Many fields, lands, houses and Orchards were donated by kings, their ministers and the rich ministers to the Brahmins and their Agraharas. In the grant of Rattaraja he specifically mentions that the amount donated is for the purpose of instruction.(157)

The Buddhist could hardly get patronge in Maharashtra or Karnatak as the state support was not forth coming.(158) The Kanheri cave Inscriptions merely inform as that King's minister and a rich Buddhist devotee deposited some fund for the expenses of education.

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(156) E. C. VII, Sk. 176.

(157) Rattaraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate dated 1008 A.D. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.41 Line 56.

(158) Kanheri Inscription Ibid No. 1-3

The Jainas however had immense following among the merchant community of the Deccan.(159) The Vananja of Aihole were the staunch supporters of Jainism. The Jain merchants became the dedicated 'Sravakas' and under took to support the property-less 'Śramanas' who could concentrate on spiritual matters without any anxiety about their main tenance and intellectual persuits.

The influence of the merchant community on the centres of learning especially at the Buddist cave centres is pointed out by Romila Thapar,(160) when she says that, "the intriguing phenomenon of aesthetic and in many cases sexy paintings and sculpiture on the walls of the caves where the Buddist ascetics were supposed to mediate on spiritual matters can be explained by the fact that the merchants who led the caravas through dangerous mountain terrain needed some resting places."(161) They wanted safe places for their treasure to be deposited and would like to gain spiritual merit by listening to the sermons from the highly venerated masters.

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(159) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription dated 1135 A.D. Ibid No.49.

(160) Romila thapar op.cit. p. 75

(161) Kosambi D.D. The culture and Civilization of Ancient India, p. 185

Huen - Tsang in his journey through the Deccans in his first flush of enthusiasm had reckoned that there were about 100 Buddist Centres of learning (162) or the monasterics but their number rapidly dwindled to hardly a few, some of the Buddhist monestories which survived during the Silahara period were the Kanheri, Dambal (163) in Maharashtra and a few Heenayan Viharas in Goa like Khamgaon, Rivoli and Priol. (164)

The Hindu centres of learning were located in the cities and the villages could hardly afford to establish such centres either because of the apathy for learning among the peoples or the type of education imparted had hardly any relation to the realities of the life of the people.

Education of the masses :

The need for religious instruction to the masses of people was felt under the pressure of the Jain 'Sramanas' who had conquered the hearts of the people with their

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(162) Watters, On Yuan Chwang, Vols. I and II (London 1904) II, p. 239.

(163) Altekar A.S. Rashtrakutas, p. 405

(164) Goa, Gaz. Part I, p. 58.

preaching in the local languages. The Brahamanas had (165) therefore adopted Marathi as the local language in Maharastra to popularises the Puranas. Even learned writers like Sridhar Pundit now began to write Marathi Commentaries on Bhagvat followed by Chakradharswami and Dnyenesvara. This had no doubt made a great impact on the minds of the people. A new awakening of the people's religion was created. This religious reforms however had many obstacles. The greatest of them was the traditional beliefs and super stitious.

The closer examinations of these super titious would reveal some of the basic features which always intrigue the scholars why the masses of people in the Konkan and the Desh areas under the Silaharas remained as ignorant as before. They were ready to entertain foolish ideas even when new knowledge was forth-coming they preferred to seek comfort in their mythology and super-stitions. There appears to be a mental gestation period among the people at that time. The vitality of their beliefs could not remain unaffected. They had to organize

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(165) Maharashtra Parichaya Vol. I & II ed. C.G.Karve, S.A. Joglekar & Y. G. Joshi (Pune 1954) p. 331

themselves effectively to make useful adjustment otherwise be overwhelmed by the new social and religious ideas and ideologies which displan the old ones.(166) The social tensions that were created by the Jain, Islamic and Puranic mass of floating ideas had to be confronted. The static society cherishing contempt for science had stabilized itself and suppressed doubts by whatever method that was practicable. It was a struggle for 'Status quo' that produced many myths, legends and a formidable mass of supertitions. The ruling classes attempted to explain the names of their clans by the myths and the Brahmanas became important as they could concieve number of legends although they sounded stupid.(167)

The Common People :

The society of Konkan, Desh and the Krishna-Tungabhadra region of our period was composed of heterogeneous peoples (1) the aboriginal - the Mundas, the Warlis, the Thakur, the Kolis, the Katkari, Dhangars, Vadars and even the Veddas and Bhils. (2) The foreign races like the Palavas, Sakas, mlechas, Hunas, Gurjars and to others. (3) the nomadie tribes like the Banjaras. (4) the mercantile community on the coastline and lastly (5) the previously

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(166) The number of Sects originated during the period are Natha Yogis, Mahanubhava, Varakari.

(167) Romita Thapar op.cit. pp. 172-73.

settled people following agriculture. They had brought their gods and their beliefs with them. The cultural level of these people was not the same. There were bound to be hostile racial factions and the claims of precedence resulting in social tensions. These social fragments had to be brought together with a common bond. This was provided by superstition of the time.(168) The settled pattern of Varnasrama even among the Buddhist and the Jain followers was another factor which showed its Silent consent in the propagation of myths, legends and superstition. This attitude reduced the need for violent social changes.(169) This is how older culture and forms of worship were assimilated by the mutual give and take between the different adherents of the rival creeds. Of course the exception was that of Islam which lift the wounds in the minds of the people. India especially North India felt it more intensly than the Deccan.

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(168) Elliot and Dowson the History of India Vol. I, p. 505 (Castes were seculiar not religious)

(169) Kosambi D.D. The culture and civilization of Ancient India p. 23.

Social Life in Sculpture :

The account of the social life of the people will not be complete without reference to the art and architacture of the people. The architecture that has survived till to-day is mostly the cave temples, and a few Hindu and Jain temples.

The Gharapuri[170] architecture and the sculpture and the Karle-Bhaje[171] architecture no doubt relates to the period earlier than that of the Silaharas. Even the famous Mahalaxmi temple of Kolhapur belongs to the earlier period.

There are in all three Jain temples which have survived to this date and they are in or around Kolhapur. Among the Hindu temples that have survived till this day the most important are the temples at Amernath, Khidrapur, Lonad, Thane, and Chiplun.[172] There were as many as forty temples which find a reference ~~to the temples~~ in the Silāhāra Inscriptions, besides the twelve temples built by King Jhanjba of North Konkan which disappeared soon because of unsettled conditions or defects in construction.

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(170) Kalchuri King Krishnaraj (C.550-575 AD) was the creater of the cave architecture at Gharapuri according to Prof. Spink. The coins found at Gharapuri in December 1974 confirmed this according to Dr. Shobhanu Ghokhale B.I.S.M. Pune Qty. Vol. 18, Year 55, No.1-4 dated 1976 pp 617.

(171) 1st Century B.C. to 2nd century B.C. Mirashi V.V. Satvahana ani Paschim Kshatrapa Yancha Itihas ani Koriv Lekh. (Bombay 1979) p. (204).

(172) List attached, pp 501-5.

The only important temples which have survived till to-day and may be useful for the study of society of the Śilāhāra period are the two Śiva temples, one at Khadrapur near Shirol in Kolhapur and the second is the temple of Ambernath near Kalyan.

The architecture of the Koppesvara temple at Khidrapur is of a mixed type, combination of North and South style, where the entrance hall is separated from the Congregation Hall (Sabha-mandap) and the architecture of Ambernath is that of the Southern style with the influence of the Chalukyan art.

Silahara Temples (North Konkan)

for other temples ... see Apendix. C PP501-5.

Deity	Reference	Built by	Remarks
Śiva Temples			
(1) Ambernath	C.I.I.Vol. No.17, Line 5-6	Mummuni Insc. No. 17(C.I.I. Vol. VI)	It might have been built by feudatory of Silaharas Sri Tasira-yalaiya
(2) Amritesvara	C.I.I.Vol. No.59, Line 4		

Deity	Reference	Built by	Remarks
(3) Avvesvara	No.4 L. 42	Avasara	Supposed to be built by King Avasara at Goa.
(4) Bhaipesvara	No.11 L.50	Bhayipa chief of Cistrict	Donation by King Chhittaraja
(5) Ghatalesvara			
(6) Gudalesvara	No.45 L.50	At Gudalaya Kolhapur	Donation by Gandaraditya.
(7) Koppesvara	No.63 L.4	Vijayaditya of Kolhapur started.	Built by Yadavas King Singhanas
(8) Kunkanesvara			
(9) Mahadeva	No.45, L-38/39		Donation by Gandaraditya
(10) Madhavesvara	L.21 & 43-49	Madhijjaiya	Donation by Bhaijipayya Revenue office
(11) Marudesvara	No.23, L.65-66	At Murud	King Vikramaditya of North Konkan offered the donation to a priest from Varanasi on behalf of his father Aparaditya after death.
(12) Siva	No.48, L.26	Donation by King Gandaraditya on the request of Malapaiyya	
(12) Siva	Nox		

Deity	Reference	Built by	Remarks
(13) Tilabhandes-vara			
(14) Umamahesvara	No. 59, L.4	Bhoja II	Sahavasi Brahman Lokana Nayak built the monastry, near the temple.
(15) Uttaresvara	No.39, L.15	Thane	King Somesvaras donations
(16) Sopesvara	No.36, L.11-12	Bhivandi	King Kasideva II gave donations
(17) Vyomesvara	No.30, L.8-9	Vyomasiva Viharoli Thane	Chaplain of Aparaditya II

The Silaharas of Konkan were worshippers of Siva mainly but the people also worshipped Sun-God, Vishnu, Kartikeya and Sridhara and Goddesses such as Bhagvati and Mahesasurmardini and so on. The remains of Buddhist Shrines are found in South Konkan and especially in Goa but the Jain temples and Buddhist shrines hardly supply us the pictures of the life of the people at that time. These two religious concentrate on the asceticism and as such these sculptures are more religious than of social interest.

Koppesvar temple at Khidrapur :

The special feature of this temple is that there are references in the inscription(173) engraved on the outer walls of the temple. In the

(173) Kundangar, Inscriptions in Northern Karnataka and Kolhapur State, No.25.

Khidrapur Stone-inscription there is a reference to the victories of the military general Boppana, of King Vijayaditya of Kolhapur (C.1140-1175 A.D.)

The second feature is the Virgala or a hero-stone near the temple. Containing the information of the death on the battlefield of Bannes (174) the commander of King Bhojadeva of Kolhapur.

The third feature is that this temple was left unfinished by the Kolhapur Silaharas. It was not completed by their conquerors the Yadavas who were famous builders.

Lastly the carved out figures of various gods Indra, Brahma and Vishnu riding elephants and Siva-Parvati riding the bull (Nandi). The images of Siva Parvati are in the Centre of the outer walls of the Garba-graha and on each side a row of 46 elephants is carved out. The purpose of this moulding and carving was to convey the idea that gods came to this temple on the backs of their respective vehicles. Most of the images are disfigured or mablated at the hands of the iconoclasts.

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(174) I.N.K.K.S., p. 179

The upper parts of the outside walls are decorated by images of beautiful dancing nymphs (surasundaris) in different pozes of dancing and players of musical instruments. The idea conveyed by these sculptures is that of the other world and as such the scenes do not help us to draw up the picture of the social conditions at that time.

Ambernath temple (175) : The sculpture on the Ambernath temple walls and columns is full of scenes from the social life of the people representing the different classes of the society. The life as reflected in the scenes carved on the colums inside the temple as well as on the outside walls of the temple will at least give us the picture of the social life of the people in the Konkan.

Foreign influence :

This temple is dedicated to God Siva the image of this deity is in the niche at the back of the temple in what is known as Rathikabimba. The three headed standing Siva is the main attraction. The other images of Siva with a beard in the style of zoroastrian sphinz, a goatee type, shows that the influence of the foreigners in art could not be checked. The Persian or rather the Zoroastrian influence is also seen in the sculpture of 'Kinnar' on the out wall facing West and that of elephant God Ganapati in the dancing pose on the walls facing east.

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(175) Case study of the temple in the Appendix. PP 506-22.

This foreign influence in the social life is clearly seen in the sculpture carved on the outer walls facing the east. There are three (176) sculptures which need special study. The first is that of a group of three or four riding on a horse-back the second is that of a lady or a man with a long cloak training three dogs standing one upon the other. One more scene of this circus type is carved on the inner walls of the entrace slightly over the door. Here a man is ~~showing~~ seen putting his hand in the month of a tiger. The style of hair is the usual greco-persian one.

The third sculpture on the out side wall facing the east is a strange one. Here a figure is sculptured prominently displaying the hips and then the figure turns the front side the flat chest and shows beautiful woman's face. The hair are in the Greek style and the Ornaments such as necklaces are worn. This appears to be a reflection of the pervert ideas of beauty. This figure is flanked by two courtazans with a 'tiara' on the head and in a submissive mood.

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(176) The pictures are shown in the Appendix.

The other figure which shows the influence of the foreigner is the sculptured figure of a 'Fakir' with a beard. The face is cheerful and the head is covered with cloth in the Muslim style. All these scenes are depicted on the back walls of the temple. Why the temple should face west is also a debatable point. Khidrapur Siva temple faces east; this temple faces west.

Morals

That the social life of the people in the Konkan was influenced by the foreign merchants in the port towns of Konkan has to be accepted. As far back as the period of the composition or Kamasutra, there was a belief current in the North that the people in the Aparanta[177] send their beautiful women to the royal palace and the houses of ministers for their entertainments.

Alberum[178] talks about the kings encouraging the institutions of devadasi to fill the treasury of the state. The folk songs also refer to the merry life of the Kings in the famous song 'Konkancha raja Zimma Kelato.[179]

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(177) Vatsyayena's Kamasutra edited by Sri Yashodhar and translated in Hindi by Sri Devadutta Sastri Varanashi 1964, Chapter 5, V.34, p.583.

(178) Al Beruni's India Sachau, II, p.157.

(179) Shejwalkar, T.S., Background of the history of Konkan, selected articles ed. H.V.Mote (Pune 1977) pp. 195-96.

The High Society

Besides the images of various deities like Brahma, Vishnu, Mahakali, Astabhuja Chandika there are images of princes and princesses. They are attended by courtezens. Scantily dressed and carrying some articles. This gives us the ideas of the grandeur of the life of the Kings. There is a figure of a princess holding a mirror in her left hand and busy in her hair-do. There are more female figures on the walls of the Amernath temple than those of male figures both deities and human beings.

The officers of the government are shown on the northern side of the temple and we can get the idea of the great respect in which they were held. Female attendants with fly-whisks indicate the presence of royal personalities or Gods ~~palaqnin~~ being carried in palaquins.

Ascetics

The ascetics also figure on the outer walls on the eastern and northern walls. As already mentioned above the Fakir - like figure definitely shows the influence of Sufism that had made its appearance in northern Maharashtra in the 9th century Jain King Ila had to fight a war against the

Gaznavi army in 1058 A.D.(180) The other ascentics represent Hindu and Jainas. The Hindu Yogi with a Kamandalu (boat-shaped wooden bowl) and a naked monk are shown; so also on the Northern side a recluse with a Loin-cloth (Langoti) is shown. There are at least six ascentics shown on the wall walls. This indicates their influence on the minds of common people.

Commonfolks

There is only one figure of a peasant in his typical dress a Loin Cloth head dress and having a staff in his hand and he is learning on it. The mood is cheerful. The warlis, kolis, Thakurs and the shephards of to-day whom we call 'Adivasis' or backward class of Thana district are not different from the one shown here.

The most interesting feature is the cultural life of the people in the Konkan which is shown on different parts of the temple, on outside walls and on the pillars inside, that attracts our attention. It is very useful to know the social life of the common people.

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(180) Madhyayugin Charitra Kosh p. 150

If we look at the frieze or the lower border on the outer walls, from the entrance towards the right side of the temple, we encounter the folk dances. The musical instruments are flute, cymbal, a circular drum and a squarish instrument used by women while dancing. The folk dances are in twos, threes and a full nine women folk dance where they hold each other around the waist or put their hands around their necks. The style of the dances of men is different from that of women.

Dances

The common folks of the Thana district are shown in their various moods in the sculptured outer walls of the temple. The music and folk dances, the loving couples, the special festival dances, and group dances are shown. On the South - Eastern side we find a dance which may be called a 'Phugadi' dance. This may be called a rhythmic exercise of women, back bending on the knees in the sitting position to spring up again and turn to both the sides. The men who dance the "jump dance" 'udyā-nach' and the 'ẓenda' group dance is also shown.

The men and women that are shown participating in the dance appear to be healthy, slim as well as fat. There are different hair-styles. The Warli type of Saree tucked upto the knee was mostly used but on the eastern side we find a dancing woman back to the Viewer showing the Maharashtrian type saree worne with the folded border tucked at the back.

Inside the temple on the pillers a few peasants and workers are carved. The acrobats men and boys in their acrobatic poses are shown. The outer walls also show the elephant frieze where the men control the elephants.

Thus the men, women and children are shown in the Sculpture, along with deities, yaksas and other species of heavenly beings.

The artists were not satisfied with merely moulding or carving images they have practically catered to the demands of all sects. On one of the pillars in the antechamber (next to the shrine) there is a mould of ganda (181) or Basina buffalo and a deity is subduing it. Alberuni (181) mentioned that Zanda's flesh was eaten by Brahmins in fact it was their privilege to eat it, that sounds incredible.

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(181) Alberunts India, Sachau Section I, pp. 203-204.

In one more respect the sculpture on the walls of the Amernath temple is important and that is, it shows us the social life at various levels, usually on the lower portions of the wall are the images of common-folks, on the upper one the routine-type of every day experience interspersed with the images of popular deities. The higher portions are reserved for larger figures and for higher men both in the material aspect and spiritual aspect of life. There are the nymphs and the flying beings, the Vidyadharas and in between are the images of deities. At the top we find the images of deities.

The speciality of this temple is thus the display of life styles of the people. There is one sculpture which got dislodged from some part of the temple. This sculpture is kept in the store-room near the temple. Here a middle-class youth is worshipping the Śiva Lingam and a woman is dancing and a man is playing on some instrument. This may be a kind of musical-worship. There is also a moulding on the outer walls where a crowd of people is shown and it is eager to see and hear something. It may be a primitive type of drama or a gathering summoned by the gavunda or government representative or even a 'bhajan'.

Food.

To give a complete idea about what they etc., we have to depend upon the accounts of Chakradhara[182] swami. His description of the white diet" (Sveta upahāra) where all food articles are white and mostly of rice are described. The swami wandered mostly in the Ahmednagar district and hence his description may not fit the type available in Konkan.

Dress.

The account of the social life will now be completed by describing the dress of the Deccan people lies between the Apasthambha Dharma Sutra[183] (800 BC - 400 BC) and Mhacembhat's Lilacharita[184] 1283 A.D. The other useful material from which to draw the exact picture of the dress of the Deccan people is the sculpture, painting and coins as the archacological material but more important than these is the factor of Geographical conditions and the habits of the people. We shall discuss the dress of the common people not the kings and their ministers.

Mlaecmbhat speaks of Patan[185] (Silk Cloth)[186] Pasavadi[187] Duti, Bahirvas[188], Jadi or Ghongadi[189], Paddene[190] Phuta,[191]

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(182) Lila charitra Uttarardha part I Lila 125.
(183) Chronologicable table p. X VII. History of Dharma P.V.Kane Vol. III.
(184) Lila charitra ed S.V.Tulpule Prastavan P.1
(185) Lilacharitra Uttarardha part-I, Lila No.187.
(186) Ibid 7, 22, 34.
(187) Ibid 22
(188) Ib 30, 34, 82, 132
(189) Ib 59
(190) Ib 27, 125, 126
(191) Ib 34, 81, 132

Volisaula (192) (thin cloth); Dhotra (193), Kantha (194), Agni (195), Topan (196), Choli (197), Khanduva (198).

'Patan' is silk cloth;'Duti' is twice folded cloth; 'Bhirvas' a coarse showl used as upper cloth or 'uparne'; Jadi is a thick blanket; Paddeni is a towel or a cloth that is wrapped round the waiste at the time of taking bath; 'phuta' is a long strap, 'Volisaula' is a thin cloth or Muslin, Photrals the Dhoti; 'Kantha' is a thick sheet of cloth used as cover; 'Agni' is shirt or Kurta; 'Topare' is head dress or cap. Khanduvai is plain cloth handkerchief and 'Pasavadi' was thick cloth.

There were two styles of wearing 'dhoti' one was known as the Wrestler's knot type and the other was with the folds.

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(192) Ib 114
(193) Ib 42, 129
(194) Ib 204
(195) Ib 30, 123, 146
(196) Ib 34, 138
(197) Ib 30
(198) Ib 123

Usually two pieces of cloth were used; the upper garment and the lower garments. A third piece was used as a headress class called 'Patka' as we find in most of the sculptures.(199) Women wore sarees and cholis as the traditional dress.

Dr. M. K. Davalikar of Puna has discussed the changes in the dress of men and women that took place during the Vakata - Gupta period.(200) He has based his study mainly on the sculptures and painting at the Ajanta and the literary evidence. He hasa also described the dress of ministers, Chamberslain and the royal family. The new castes and classes like the Kayastha Pathare Prabhu, Senawai, the Gurav, slightly changed the structure. The place of women, the superstitions, education of the people, the type of life they lived as reflected in the temple sculpture will give a fair idea of the social life of the people during the Silahara times.

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(199) The gate-keepers or the Pratiharas at the entrace gate of the Shrine.

(200) B.I.S.M. Pune A.D. 1968 Vol. X LIV No. 14
Article by Dr. M.S. Dhavalekar entitled Vakatakalin Vatsre pp. 61-70.

CHAPTER VII

(A) Economic Conditions

The period between the rise of the Śilāhāras from the middle of the 8th Century and their final downfall in the middle of the 13th century represents a period which is outstanding for the general prosperity in South India.(1) It is a period which gives us information of a varied type together with political and economic theories and actual practices followed in the Rashtrakuta, Chalukya, Pallava and Chola Kingdoms.

The Śilāhāras were the feudatories of the Rashtrakuta sovereigns. After the conquest of Southern Konkan, Śilāhāra Sanafulla acquired South Konkan as a fief(2) from Krishnaraja I of the Rashtrakuta Dynasty; similarly Silahara Kapardi acquired his fief of Konkan fourteen hundred; from Rashtrakuta king Govinda III in the beginning of the 9th Century.(3) The Śilāhāras of Kolhapur were also raised to the position of feudatories by Rashtrakuta king Krishna III in the middle of

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(1) Nilakanta Sastri, A History of South India, 3rd ed. Oxford university Press, 1966, pp. 332-333.

(2) Rattaraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate, C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.41, V.13 Note: The term fief is used to indicate the political authority and not in the sense of estate held us feudal tenure.

(3) Pullasaktis Kanheri Cave - Inscription. Ibid, No.1, Lines1/2.

the 10th Century.(4) These three houses of the Silaharas acquired higher position after the passage of half a century from the rise of their respective families to a position of power.

As the Śilāhāras were subordinate rulers and they had to make payments to their overlords in one form or the other. Dr. A.S.Alteker has categorically stated that the subordination of the Silaharas was nominal.(5) We hardly get any information regarding the payments made by them to their overlords. The second point which must be borne in mind while making an assessment of the economic conditions of the Silahara dominions, is that therew were very few occasions when the Silaharas had participated in major military activity.(5A) From this we can safely assume that the economye of the period did not suffer from any of the disadvantages produced by these exigencies. There was a climate of peace and prosperity.

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(4) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper Plate. Ibid. No. 46. V. 4 Jatiga I is stated as the maternal uncle of Ganga King Marasimha who was related to Rashtrakuta Emperor Krishna III and had helped Krishna in his military campaigns, like his father Butuga II. This might have helped Silahara Jatiga to acquire the position of an officer of the Gomantha fort as stated in verse No.4 above.

(5) Altekar, A.S.'The Rashtrakutas and their times' 1934 p. 265.

(5A) C.I.I. Vol. VI No.49, V. 7. An indirect reference to the suppression of feudatory Tond samant of the Chalukyan suzerain.

It is interesting to note that the Silahara-dominions were not only rich in natural resources but also they possessed the necessary infra-structure of a developing economy provided by road transport and sea transport. Naosari, Supara, Thana, Chaul, Dabhol, Jaigad, Devgad and Malwan were the ports of export for most of the territories lying in the hinter-land of the West coast of India. We should not lose sight of an important port of Kalyan which was only next in importance to Broach according to Cosmos Indicopleustes(6)

In the interior the important places in the Daccan were Phaitan and Tagara.(7) The latter was considered as a very important city, the home town by the Silaharas.

Land and Agriculture : South Konkan

The exact area covered by the ten kingdoms of the three branches of the Silahara house and the ten other minor branches cannot be ascertained but we can give a rough sketch in the following way :

1) The South Silahara kingdom roughly extended over the whole of Goa and the modern districts of Sindhudurga and Ratnagiri. Sometimes the territory extended right upto Chaul but the area was mostly confined to the two districts, which would work to 12000 Sq. miles approximately.

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(6) "The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' Translated and edited by G.W.B. Huntingford London 1980 p. 50

(7) Ibid. p. 49.

This area is suitable for growing coca-nut, betle-nut (pophal), mangoes and other fruit trees. It is also suitable for salt pans and for fishing. The creek of Terekhol gives us a clue to its frequent use by the merchants for carrying out their sea trade. This territory also provided good ports of Revatidvip(8) (Reddi); the second important port was Vengurla, and the third was Malwan which incidentally had acquired great fame as is clear from the 'Periplus'.(9) Another important town and also a port was Kharepaton which was called Bhalipattam and was considered as a capital of the South Silahara.(10) Ratnagiri also played an important role in the sea trade of the Western coast. As the coast is very narrow not extending beyond 20 miles from the sea to the Sahyadri Mountains and as this area receives a very heavy rainfall, the opportunity for extensive cultivation of the land is obviously very limited.

The natural resources of this area were provided by the forests, mines and the sea. As regards agriculture we have to presume that it was largely dependent on a good monsoon. Irrigation by canals or lift irrigation was limited. The rivers in this area except those in Goa, are

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(8) Gaz. of India, Goa, Daman and Diu, Part I, pp. 75-76.

(9) Periplus. Ibid.

(10) This point is discussed in Chapter III, above. pp. 99-101.

are minor rivers and only during the monsoon water rushes through these rivulets and is poured into the Arabian sea. During the summer most of the rivers in the region north of Goa are dry and at times there is a scarcity of water. The failure of rainfall means terrible famine and specially during the period from 8th century to 11th century the population in this area was not more than 50,000.(11) This population could be maintained on the agricultural produce with even primitive methods of cultivation. The areca-nut gardens and the coca-nut gardens were popular in this area as can be very easily seen from Rattaraja's Balittana copper plate inscription dated 24th December 1010 A.D.(12)

We shall now consider the land system and the crops produced in the land ruled by the three main branches of the Śilāhāras separately, and then review the conditions of industry including horticulture and then examine the banking, currency, trade and commerce in general.

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(11) This point is discussed in Chapter I , above p.28.

(12) Rattaraja's Balipattan Copper plate, C.I.I. Vol.VI, No. 42, Lines 15/16 and Line 52.

South Konkan Silaharas : We have to be satisfied with indirect and passing references to agriculture in the three inscriptions so far available of this dynasty. We have to glean the information bearing on this matter and base our interpretation on the scanty information available from the records of this dynasty.

Rattaraja the last of the rulers of the South Konkan Silaharas dynasty issued a charter from his capital Balipattana on December 24th, 1010 A. D. granting a Brahmin named Sankamai, son of Nagmai, a field in the village called Kalwal with two season crops (Waigan Kshetra). (12-A)

Although the exact location of Kalwal cannot be ascertained as the words in the inscription are not clear, we have to focus our attention on the discription of the field as mentioned above. The field was of a quality which would yield two season crops. It shows that in the region somewhere near the capital, there was a practice of raising off-season crops also. The main crop however must be paddy only and the second crop needed less water supply which could be made available either by lift irrigation or by cannals, wells etc.

We know that the rivers in the Konkan dry up in the summer and a few ponds and rivulets and streams hold some water, and this water is not sufficient for growing crops on a large scale. There are some ponds which are large in

(12-A) C.I.I. Vol. VI. No 42. Lines 44-47.

size like Damapur near Malwan and these large ponds are popularly called lakes. We can easily believe that the local people manage to get the water supply for their cultivation during the summer either from such lakes or by constructing bunds to the rivulets or 'vahals' for the convenience of the community.

In the case of the field granted to the Brahmin by the king usually enjoyed some advantages. It became the duty of the community to see that the lands donated to the priest and temples were maintained in good condition by the local people as the charters were announced to the public and to the leading persons of the locality.

The fact that two - season crop is mentioned in the charter does not enable us to make generalization regarding the land system, water supply, and methods of cultivation. However it is legitimate to say that two crops were produced in the areas wherever there was an adequate water supply as in Goa. In other parts of Konkan they do not raise the same crop twice in the year as the quality of the soil is not good. During rainy season rice is grown whereas the second crop or the Waigana is usually that of Nagali or Harik. Further there is a tendency to supplement the food crop by vegetables or some minor crops. The quality of the land ranges between the medium to inferior and two crops would hardly yield the desired amount in proportion to the labour put in the work.(13)

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(13) Ante Chapter on physical features. No. I

In the inscription under review it is worth while to note that the same grantee of the charater Sankamai Brahmin received betal-nut orchard to the west of the village Puluray.(14) This shows that the revenue realizable from the field in Kalwal would not be adequate to satisfy the wants of the Brahmins and hence an additional source of revenue was arranged. Dr. V.V. Mirashi however thought that the recipient of this favour was a military officer, Senawai being according to him a currupt form of Senapati.(15)

It is not surprising therefore if he next concludes that the grant was not for religious purpose, but Dr. Mirashi in his interpretation of Senewai as only a military officer is not correct. In the South Konkan and in Goa there is a community of Brahmins possessing intellectual abilities, they are known as Senais. The members of this community serve the government as ministers and civil servants.

The gift cannot be interpreted as a grant of 'fief' or 'jagir' to a noble man as there are references in another inscription of Avasarraja I confirming the hereditary rights of a noble man in the presence of ministers and local leaders.

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(14) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 42, Line 52.

(15) Mirashi, V.V., 'Silahara Rajvamsacha Itihas ani Koriv Lekh, (Nagpur, 1974) p. 234.

The use of the word Agrahar in relation to Puluray would lead us to believe that the field was granted to the Brahmin for religious and other purposes and not as reward for military service.

When we consider the land grants to the nobles or to the military officers we have to bear in mind that a plot of land which was not under cultivation might also be granted to them not for the purpose of raising crops but for planting of trees such as betelnuts and cocoanuts. Orchards seem to have received more attention both from the rulers and from the people. The Pattanakudi inscription of Avasaraja II[16] mentions a revenue in the form of betelnuts (Pugal fala). There was also an officer who was designated as officer in charge of betelnuts (Hadap).[17] It is therefore clear that arable land as well as that for gardening was desired by all classes of people in the society.

It is interesting to know that the exact location of the land donated by the charter was clearly demarcated by mentioning the boundaries of the place e.g. in Rattaraja's Kharepatana grant[18] Kushmandi village, granted to Atreya

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(16) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 40.

(17) Ibid. Line 37.

(18) Ibid. No. 41.

for the worship of God Avveshwar was bounded by Manigram stream to the East, Vaparavatagrama road to the South, a rivulet of the village called Sachandalakapittha to the West, and a creek to the North. It was not only in the case of villages that the borders were mentioned but the area of field granted usually to a priest in a particular village was clearly specified. In Rattaraja's Balipattan grant(19) where a two season-crop field in Kalvala was gifted to Sankamaiyya and its limits are mentioned. Another instance of such a grant is an orchard in the village of Pulaarry, the exact location being mentioned. We have no sufficient evidence to state that the land was properly surveyed and a complete record of the several villages under the authority of the South Konkan Silahara was maintained. It is obvious from the data available from the three charters of the South Konkan Śilāhāras, that land was considered very valuable and the grant of even a small field by the rulers was considered as an uncommon favour (as in the Maratha Times (19-A)) In the absence of evidence either in the form of a charter or a proclamation by the rulers regarding the vast tracts of hilly lands, some with dense forests and others with bushes and grazing grounds might have also figured in the calculations. It is stated in the Arthasastra that land which cannot be used for agriculture, because it is unsuited (bhumicchidra),

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(19) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 41.
(19A) M.I.S. Vol. XVI, 2,3,4, 19; Ibid XV, 279.

is to be used either for pastures or forests.(20) The economic value of theso so-called waste-land could not be irnored as timber and wood of all kinds would be available in plenty in the Konkan. In the few inscriptions available to us there are references to hills and valleys and streams which may leed us to believe that the king granted lands to the priests and temples which would yield enough crop for the maintenance of the families of the priests and repairs to the temples. If the king thought that it was insufficient he was fair enough to add to the income by granting the donees an orchard as in the case of Puluaray village referred to in the copper plate inscription of Rattaraj of Dec. 24, 1010 A.D.(21) It was however customary to regard the subsequent grant of the same village to another donee as excluding the areas already granted. Further the borders specified in the charters were not subject to changes.

The record of all such grants was made in the Central office of the ruler; sometimes a copy of the charter was preserved in the office. Rattaraj in his Balipattan grant uses the oft quoted verse "Mudrasudham Kriyasudham Bhuktisudham

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(20) Kautilya Arthasastra 2.2.1 ff.

(21) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 42

Sachinhakam. Rajaswahastasudham Tu Sudhinayate Sasanam".(22)

Another precept in the land grant is the formula "Bahubhirvasudhā Bhuktā Rajabhi Sagaradibhi Yasya Yasya Yadā Bhumi Tasya Tasya Tadā phalam".(23) This is followed by the curse "Svadattam paradattam vāyo haret vasundharām Sashtri-varsasahsrani vistayām Sa Krimibhavet".(24)

It is worth while pointing to the custom followed by the Rashtrakuta overlords of the Śilāhāras in the granting of lands to the lay persons as well as to the priests. It was an accepted custom that the donees did not aquire the property rights in the cultivable lands in the village, although they enjoyed many other rights as specified in the grants. The revenue rights of the rulers were not transferred or assigned to the donees.(25) The same pattern was probably followed in the other Silahara dominions.

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(22) Ibid. Verse 18. The meaning of this sanskrit verse is that a charter becomes authoritative when it is free from faults as regards seal, observance of rules and the signification by the king and carries the requisite marks which makes the possession valid.

(23) Ibid. No. 40, V. 19. In the ancient times kings like Sagar gave liberal gifts and enjoyed the power over the world.

(24) Ibid. No. 41, V. 25. The curse is that those who deprive the donees of their gifts will suffer in Hell for a period of sixty thousand years.

(25) Altekar, A.S. op. cit., pp. 236 - 237.

Further it may be noted that the Rashtrakutas like other medieval kings"did not claim property right in all the lands under cultivation in their jurisdiction. Stray plots of cultivable lands in several villages, waste lands, lands awaiting cultivation, forests, and specific treess formed the Government property"(26)

It is relevant to point out that the arable land in South-Konkan was very much limited so a very high value was set on the possession of the land. This was the natural tendency as even during the Vedic period the value of the limited cultivable land was regarded as considerable. In the Satapatha Brahamana' the story is narrated where Earth herself protested that she should not be given away, when a gift of land was offered to a priest.(27)

The condition in the medieval India underwent a change as Manu Yadnyavalkya and other authors of the Smritis eulogised the land grands. The poulation growth necessitated the clearance of forests and reclamation of marshy lands.

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(26) Ibid.

(27) Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami Aiyanger. 'Aspects of Ancient Indian Economic thought'. Manindra Chandra Lectures 1927. Banaras 1934. p. 104.

It is on account of this need that the ruler thought of settlement of Agraharas or church lands and thereby earning a spiritual merit.(28) If this factor has to be given its due weight in providing incentive to cultivate land in the South Konkan area, we have to give sufficient thought to the quality of land in the region. The ways to encourage the native farmers or invite the outsiders to undertake this experiement should also receive serious consideration. This brings us to the problem of hereditary land. Here we have to bear in mind that the period of the Silaharas was the glorious period of 'feudalism' in India. The imperial houses in the South, such as the Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas or Cholas were originally feudatory houses owing allegiance to their overlords. They maintained private armies and declared independance when the opportunity arose.

These feudatories claimed hereditary rights in the landed property in the South Konkan. Silaharas seemed to have adopted a wise policy of controlling their under-tenants by renewing the grants and declaring relief in the payment of taxes etc. Avasara II's Pattankudi grant(29) continued the hereditary title of three persons NagaiSresthi, LokaiSresthi,

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(28) 'Dnyanes'vari', Chapter 16.205.

(29) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 40

and Adityavarma to the lands in the two villages namely Kinjal and Pulis after receiving a gift of forty Dinars as the charges of washing the royal feet and in addition to the gift, on agreement to pay the levy of two lakhs pophal nuts every year. However Nagai Sresthi had been exampted from the taxation.(30)

Now the real issue is whether the lands in the two villages were held by the three respectable citizens on lease or by any other tenure. The two places appear to be very fertile bothf for agriculture and horticulture. As the three citizens paid a substantial amount of forty Dinars either collectively or individually for the continuation of their claim to the lands already in their possession, it was declared by a single charter. Further the burden of the annual tax of two lakh betelnuts to be contributed by the two is mentioned in the charter. However it is strange that the share of contribution of each is not clearly specified, since Nagai Sresthi's contribution (Bhaga) has been excluded, it seems the share of each individual was already determined and did not need repetation. The contract containing the position of the relief and the amounts payable by the claimants of the title was announced in the presence of minister Rávana Ukai Sresthi, Amatya Nagapal, the officer in charge of the

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(30) Ibid. Line 38.

batelnut-trees and other minor officers and the leading members of the association of craftsman, traders and even the monks.(31) This contract was to be honoured by the successors till the end. Thus granting a permanent tenure of the land to a class of persons who obviously did not belong to a military aristocracy or beaureacracy implied that the ruler granted his favour on some consideration other than agricultural or horticultural produce or the defence of land.

The question about the state ownership of the land in Ancient India might be a debatable one and definite information about the existence of crown lands during the ancient as well as the medieval period is a matter of conjecture.(32) Dr. Altekar's view(33) that the crown land was referred to by the name 'Sivata' would enable us to overcome many confusing points relating to crown-lands.

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(31) Ibid. Lines 39 and 40.

(32) For a detailed discussion refer 'Hindu Polity by J.K.P. Jayaswal. Calcutta 1930. pp. 81-103; part II 1924, pp. 174-83; U. N. Ghoshal's 'The Agrarian System' and H.T. Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays Madras. Reprint, Vol. I, pp. 320-321 (1871); Mitakshara 2.17.

(33) Altekar, A.S. Op. cit., p. 239.

According to the Kharepatam Inscription of Rattaraja[33-A] edited by F. Kielhorn in Epigraphia Indica Vol. III pp. 292-293 every one of the villages granted for the maintenance and the usual ritual worship of God Avvesvara etc. belonged to the king (Abhyantarsiddha) .

However Dr. Mirashi feels that the line containing the word Abhyantarsiddha should be corrected to read as 'Sarva' Rajakiyanama hastaprakshapaniyamabhyantarasidhikam.[34] (The grant by the kind with full rights). The word sivtamarga has been translated as road to 'Śivata' by Kielhorn and he is silent on the meaning of 'Sivata'. The fortress and the land inside it was evidently the property of the king and therefore the reference to crown land in this case is acceptable. This single instance may not enable us to conclude that the Southern Konkan Śilāhāras maintained tracts of land as crown lands to given as donation to temples or as a reward in recognition of meritorious service to the state, but would confirm the tradition that the king had some lands in his possession as ultimately the defence of the land and promoting the material welfare of the subjects was one of his essential functions.[35]

(33-A) Ep. Ind Vol. III pp 292-93

(34) C.I.I. Vol. VI, p. 189 n.8.
Abhyantara siddhi has been interpreted by Dr. Altekar as "realisation of whatever is in the interior of the soil. Rashtrakutas" p. 241.

(35) Arthasastra, 2.1.1, 19-20.

It is evident from the examination of the three inscriptions of the South Konkan Silaharas that the two rulers Avasara and Rattaraja whose charters are available for our scrutiny were very generous in conferring of land grants. In every case the land grant is supplemented by an additional amount, such as grant of the custom duty.(36) an additional betelnut quota for the disbursement of the payment to officer in charge of the betelnut trees.(37) This was obviously a permanent commitment. The King had granted land as well as a betelnut orchard to a donee.(38) The whole transaction gives the impression of a sound economy and a general prosperity among the people of South Konkan region in the 11th Century A.D.

North Konkan : The dominion of the North Konkan Silaharas extended over three modern districts of the Konkan Region namely Thana, Kolaba (Raigad) and Ratnagiri. As we are considering the economic aspects of their administration we have to concentrate on their land grants to individuals or to the temples.

It is surprising that out of 39 to 40 inscriptions available relating to this dynasty, only 24 relate to the grants to holy men and temple service. The number of fields

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(36) C. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 41, Lines 56-57.

(37) Ibid, No. 40, Line 37.

(38) Ibid, No. 42, Line 45.

gifted is only 6, the number of orchards works to 8 and the number of villages donated for the sacred purposes is 8. As against this the two South Konkan Silaharas had generously gifted 3 villages, one two-season crop field, an orchard and confirmed the hereditory rights to the lands in two villages. Only two kings of the Konkan Silahara dynasty stand out as great patrons for the spiritual and moral welfare of the people.

They are Mummuni (1039-59) and Arikesari (1015-25). The former had donated six and the latter 3 villages. We cannot pass any judgement on their attitude towards land-grants unless we examine some of the gifts in some reasonable details.

To begin with let us take the fields granted by the kings to the priests and other individuals. King Chhadvaideva formally recorded this grant of three villages in Panad district (modern Kolaba or Raigad) which his elder brother Vajjadeva had already granted but it could not be inscribed.(38-A) The fields appear to be favourably situated, to the North of these fields in the Salanak village there was a confluence of two streams and to the South there was a salt pan (Lavana charika). These fields appear to have been reclaimed (Nivat kshetra) either from the flooding of the salt pans or from the water falls (Jaladhardhara).

This gift was announced to all those concerned with this transaction such as military officers, police, reporters and astrologers and the cultivators. Therefore it must be

(38-A) C.I.I. Vol. VI. No 4 Lines 75-76.

considered a very important land grant. The proceeds of the fields were to be utilized for the performance of the usual rituals called "Panchamāhāyadjna Anūstān". Before we proceed interprete the grants we have to bear in mind the extra-ordinary political conditions.(39) This was clearly the period of decline of the Rashtrakutas. Tailap II Chalukya king of Kalyani was rising to power during this period.(39-A)

The land grant by Vajjad was clearly a grant from the crown land. Moreover there are references to the salt pans (lavana charika) or salty channel and the confluence of streams which made it imperative on the recipient of the grant to see that the fields were properly cultivated by hired labour. This raises the problem of wages for the agricultural labourers. It seems from the whole transaction that it was not customary to invite military and police officers along with the peasants. In the case of a grant of a field at Nahur near Bhandup (Bombay) thep presence of ministers, civil authorities and representatives of social groups was natural as the king wanted to encourage among his subjects the spirit of charity.(40) These and other grants are also other instances where civil authorities from various social groups were invited to attend such functions.

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(39) The decline of the Rashtrakuta empire, as described by Dr. Altekar in his book 'Rashtrakutas' etc. pp. 129-33.

(39A) E. I. Vol. VI. No 6, V-15.

(40) C.I.I. Vol. VI, Nos. 9, 11 and 20 (Chittaraja's Bhandup grant; Chittaraja's Berlin Museum grant and Aparaditya I's Vadavali grant).

Another factor that intrigues the mind is that the fields granted were treated as already under cultivation but there is no mention of the cultivators or the claimants of the fields. In this connection it is worth while pointing out that the Silahara prices had established the claim of the state on the escheated lands--- due to failure of heirs.(41) If such lands were gifted away to the priests or to temple or holy establishments there would always be the problem of cultivation of the land. In this respect the reference to the titles of the lands inc case of the Chhadvaideva's Panad grant is very significant.

If we have to accept the time honoured method of state-craft as envisaged in Arthasastra(42) we may state that the labourers might have been paid a paltry sum over and above the food they received for themselves and their families. The problem of the servants craftsmen, cultivators and other dependants on land was always borne in mind when the king made such grants as is evident from South Konkan Silahara King Rattaraja's Kharepattam grant (lines 58-59), He had made provision for the families of female attendants, a family of oilman, a family of washerman, a family of gardners, a family of potters etc.

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(41) E. I. Vol; III, p. 274.

(42) Arthasastra, 2.24.28.

It is interesting to point out that in the record of the Kolhapur Silahara the wages were paid to the different kinds of service in the form of land.(43) Another remarkable instance which needs close attention is Chhitaraja's Bhandupt Charter.(43A) According to this charter the kind purchased the field from Wodanibhatta and donated the same to a priest named Amdevaiya for religious ceremonies and the maintenance of his family (Lines 40-42). This single instance will enable us to affairm that the king did not merely distribute waste-land but was willing to pay for it and donate it to another person who was exempted from the payment of usual taxes.

The type of land in the Nahur village is not specially mentioned but if we would look at the land near Bhandup Station which included the Nahur area we may easily say that the land was more useful for making salt than for agricultural purpose.

The reference to the royal road shows that the situation of the field was such that the land carried not only agricultural value but commercial value also.

The produce of the land was supposed to be considerable as the amount needed for the performance of the six priestly duties including teaching, learning and entertaining guests was very large. The nearness of the place to the sea as well as the capital city of the Silahar kingdom definitely enhanced

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(43) Altekar, op. cit., p. 395.

(43A) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No 9, V. 13.

the value of the field. The assurance to the recipient of the gift is that he could enjoy the produce without molestation from the state officials and his heirs who could cultivate the land or get it cultivated thus he would continue to enjoy the previledges for ever.

Equally important grant was that contained in the Someśvara's Rānvad inscription(44) (near Uran) dated March 25, 1259. The king granted the revenue of the fields in the Padvise village to two priests who b were brothers. Here we find that the right of full property of the fields was granted to them.

Another interesting grant is that of a field in the Mor village (a few miles away from Thana) by Aparajitya I on October 21, 1127.(45) This grant carried tax-free produce and prohibited tresspass by police and other authorities and enabled the priest Trivikram to enjoy the benefit of availing himself of all sorts of things existing in the area such as grass, wood and water. He was also entitled to recover fines from the guilty but could not collect the administrative charges and interfere in the charities previously granted to the temple establishment. In Chittaraja's Bhaeepesvara temple grant, one of the fields called 'Abinavadevachhebha' in Kundegram is mentioned and it might be a reclaimed land.(46)

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(44) C. I. I., Vol. VI, No. 38.
(45) Ibid, No. 20.
(46) Ibid. No. 11, Line 53

There was also a practice of mentioning the names of the fields which indicated the type of crops raised. In this respect Mummumi's Thana inscription of Feb. 20, 1049 A.D.[47] is full of information. Some of the names are as follows :- Kottharvedi, Khairondhā, Kusumbi, Kambhaiyaśatka, Wād, Khānūwada, Nihūr, Woulapondhā, Khānūvala, Wankadi, Madhu, Tôraṇi, Nānewāpa, Wēdevāpa, Bhambhondā, Varasoundā, Jambūvati, Madhukateh, Chôli, Kusumbhôli, Pimpalvāp, Chanevati, Agarvedi, Ardhapād, Talavati, Thāpada, Saliyapa, Bhāmbamivaha, Rajakīya Thāpada, Deyeela, Jalūvondha, Konchourondhā, Khānu, Khojavadāl, Vadotih, Kaṇi, Mazilvāvā, Brahmavadaya, Adhavaceela, Singhalidvipa, Kumbhivati, Āmrakshetra, Khuntila, Kolihīrakah.[48]

Fromm the various names mentioned above we can gather that there were some fields which were surrounded by trees of a particular kind such as Āmrakshetra, Sāliyapakshetra, Khairondakshetra etc. There were some lands which were ~~some lands which were~~"ukas" arid lands Nikhat(~~line~~), excavated land, Nipat (~~Line~~) low land, Niwat (~~Line~~), sheltered land from the wind, Nihur, sandy land, Khajan (marshy land) Stembh highland, Agarvedhi salt soil, Thāpadkshetra, flat highland. Thus we come across the various descriptions of the land and can have some idea of the type of land.

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(47) Ibid. No. 11, Line 53

(48) Ibid. No. 14, Line 99-164.

There are also indirect references to the settlements of different communities on the lands such as Kunbhivate, Kolihirakah, singhali dvipa, Mazilvava, Bramavadaya, Khojjavadal, Agarvedi.(49) Mazilvāva and Khojjavadāl may refer to the Muslim settlements and Bramavadaya to the Brahmin settlements. kunbhivati refers to the peasants and the remaining to the working classes.

The lands granted to the priests and temple establishments were not mere unwanted waste-lands or uncultivated lands. Some of them were very fertile lands such as Wadkshetra near Borivli which could yield quite a large crop as the Priests share was to be about 300 kilograms of rice. Moreover the lands contained grass, wood and water and the priests could claim the possession of all these commodities. The proximity of the rivers such as Ulhas (Usal), Pahava, Ketaki, Keli; Sambeni, lakes, ponds and streams would definitely add to the the richness of the soil.

Most of the lands were granted in perpetuity and it was a tradition that the land gifts to the priest and temple establishments were always treated as sacred but the lands gifted to the priests came under the traditional control of the village.(50)

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(49) Ibid.

(50) Panse, M. G. 'Yadavakalin Maharashtra' Mumbai Marathi Grantha Sangrahalaya Prakasana (Bombay 1953) p.88.

The North Konkan Silaharas like other rulers of the medieval age reserved some lands as crown estates. The lands mentioned in the inscription[51] are as follows :-

Rājkīya Kusumbholi kshetra (lines 134 and 136). Rājkīya Thāpad Kshetra (line 143), Rājkīya Dayīl Kshetra (line 148) Rājkiya Ukkās Kshetra (line 155) Rajkiya Tatkhandkatche Kshetra (line 164).

It was a custom that the hills, valleys and the unclaimed land and the escheated land were the legitimate property of the state. There was however an effort to mark out the land either by f a fence or formally by placing mile-stone.

From the above discussion we can get a fair idea of how the land in the villages was recorded. Although there was no survey number or a complete record of the land the panchayat in the villages maintained a trustworthy record. Any transfer or gift of land either by the king or his ministers and feddatories was announced to the parties concerned.

Agriculture :- There were many references to the uncultivable lands or to lands with poor yield e.g. Vāvak, Ukās (Mummuni's Thana Inscription line 109)[51A]. The meaning of the words is that the land is nearly unfit for cultivation. Mummini who had

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(51) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No.14.
(51-A) Ibid.

generousely granted twenty seven fields and a large share of crop from six villages all situated in modern Thana and Kolaba districts, had to restrict the amount of paddy to 12 Mudis 1 Khandi and 5 Kudavs that is 7880 seers by measure.(52) As per Dr. Alteker the ratio of paddy to rice is 5:2 and 1 seer is equal to 1/2 lb.(53) The net receipt would be 1576 lbs. or a little more than three quarters of a ton of rice or about 5 Kilograms per day for all the 14 priests who were the beneficiaries. The total money return would be 2318 Drammas per year. The Dramma currency in the North Konkan was of silver and its content was about 4 grammes or 65 grains.(54) A detailed discussion of the weights, measures and currency would be done in the following pages. The maximum amount of paddy granted to a single priest, Dawupai was 4.5 Mudis that works to about 288 kgs. of polished rice. This was meant for the maintenance of Dawopai's family and for the performance

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(52) As per table supplied in his book 'Silahara Rajavamsacha Itihas etc. by Dr. V. V. Mirashi p. 102.

(53) Altekar, op. cit., p. 379

(54) Altekar, p. 367 and Mirashi p. 102.

of his priestly functions. His actual receipt would be 3/4 kilogram rice per day. This yield was from two fields of 'Pondakshetra' and two of 'Toranikshetra' in Brihat Adanika. This is natural as in the hilly tracts of Northern Thana where Adanika town is situated (Sopara district of the Inscription) the possible farm produce was bound to be poor.

The reference to the several rivers, streams and lakes is a clear indication that the water supply to the neighbouring fields was possible. The important rivers in North Konkan, are Ulhas, (also called Murla) Kumbhari, Kudisavara, Pahava, Sambine, Ghorpad Morvala, Kela and Ketaki, other minor rivers are mentioned along with the rivulets or streams. A definite reference to a public water reservoir is in the Akshi stone-inscription of Keshideva II (1209 A.D.).(54-A) The references to Kupas, Vāpis and Marg Kupas, Prapatas (water falls) and Tatakas (ponds and lakes) in the vicinity of the fields and places donated to the priests and and temple establishments would surely enable us to state that the field cultivation could be by lift irrigation or by canals. The canals in the Konkan are narrow and winding and care had to be taken to see that there was no tresspass.

In the charters granting the fields to the priests and tample establishments there is a reference to('Sa trina Kastadakopetah') which means the grass, wood and water were

(54-A) C.I.I. Vol. VI NO.35, Lines 7-8.

to be treated as part of a gift and was an indivisible part of the donation. When we consider the cultivation of the land, the clearance of the fields of the wild growth of grass and unwanted saplings and bushes is also implied. The land in order to be fit for cultivation must be subjected to customary method of "burning the soil". "Toranikshatra' (Mummunis Thane charter of 1049 Line 123) and the heavy rains in the area made it necessary that the water must not inundate the fields. It was therefore necessary to see that the water running from high water falls or the rain water rushing from the neighbouring hills would not wash away the plants. Even during the dry season it was necessary to see that water was made available either by cutting canals or by the primitive method of flashing water by means of wooden sprinklers.(55) Panhale inscription of Vikramaditya(56) would be instructive as the orchard mentioned therein was practically surrounded by water.

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(55) The processes of Cultivation are described by A. Appadorai in the far South India in his book". Economic conditions in South India, Vol. I. pp.229-236. Those processes differ from the ones followed in Konkan.

(56) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 23, Lines 71-77.

The boundaries of the Khairondigram (56-A) which also included an orchard of betelnuts are described as follows:- To the east of the village on the bank of the Kel driver was the banana grove and the Karjani village was the limit; on the South was the boundary of a village called 'Talasurgram', and the tree of Kadamb near a rivulet and to the west was a river and to the North of the village a lake near the river Ketaki was the limit which is also made more certain by mentioning the boundary of a neighbouring village called 'Utchupgram'.

In short the irrigation of fields in the village of Kairond, surrounded by the water and utilising the rich natural resource, was obviously the responsibility of the occupants of the village.

The point which we have to consider here relates to the supply of water and also the availability of labour. The priest to whom the proceeds of the village revenue were given by the charter (which included not only the land but the orchards, and the taxes on houses and trees) had to organise the agriculture and look after the orchards. The priest who received the gift was not a local man but a learned pundit of high lineage and the rich gift was given for the performance of sacrifices known as Panch Mahayadnya.

(56-A) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 23. Lines 71-72.

The place which is offered as a gift is situated far away from the capital of the North-Konkan Silaharas.(57) It is situated on the hilly areas near Dapoli in Ratnagiri District. The king attached great importance to this gift as he bathed in the Western Sea at Murud (Murutkshetra) and worshipped God Murudeesvara and formally announced the gift.(58)

All these factors lead us to the conclusion that the tillers of the land and the guardians of the orchards and also the collectors of the proceeds from different sources had to be local people, residing on the plot given as a gift. It is not proper that the highly honoured learned pundit should waste his time on farming as such activities were traditionally considered below his station.(59)

Moreover the priest was a special invitee and he was not expected to go and settle on the land given to him as a gift. There were so many options open to him. He could allow some of his disciples or dependents to look after the material aspects of the grants and would stay at the court

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(57) Regarding the capital of the North Konkan Silaharas see the discussion in the Origin and home place. above p. 80-8

(58) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 23, Lines 64-66.

(59) Appadorai, A., op. cit. p. 169.

of the king for sometime and later on return to the holy place. In the twelfth century there was a great demand from the kings for spiritual preceptess at the royal courts, not only in the North but more so in the South and the Varanasi priest must have been persuaded to undertake the ordeal of visiting a southern place by making this substantial offer.

The other option for the learned Varanasi divine was to hire the services of the local peasants either by paying them their customary share of produce or offering land by tenures prevalent during the period such as sub-tenants or tenants at-will or even by contract. The charter of King Vikramaditya of North Konkan allowed the donee to enjoy the benefit as a heridatary right with a clear statement that " the donee shall enjoy the proceeds of the land fully (Excluding the claims of those granted previously). The land may be enjoyed by his children & brothers with tax remissions and full safety and security of his possessions.(60)

Dr. M. G. Panse in his book "Yadavkalin Maharashtra" Published in 1963 comments". "The enjoyment of the proceeds of the land was the property of the person who received the

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(60) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.23, Lines 78-80.

gift or the donation. He could enjoy the full benefits himself and could alienate his property to his successors. He was "not to be obstructed in any way ~~of~~ by the authorities". On the basis of this clear cut instructions, the title to the land was in perpetuity. There were various types of grants. The rights enjoyed by a single personw were ~~as~~ "A superior to the rights enjoyed as a member of a Corporation such as "Agrahara" or land granted to religious institutions managed by Brahmans, the latter was known as 'Ganabhogya'. The former right was hereditary.(61)

The category of such type of land-grant would suggest that king Vikramaditya wanted to create a settlement of Brahmins in the far off place like Murud town and wanted to extend his authority further South and for that reason he wanted the best preceptors to strenghthen his position spiritually. In the material sphere. Aparaditya and his son Vikramaditya had taken effective measures to subjugate the Southern part of Konkan. It is for this reason that the grant also implied that the cultivation of the land and the guarding of the orchards was to be the responsibility of the inhabitants of the place.

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(61) Panse, M.C., op-cit., p. 91.

It is clear from the wording of the charter that the King Aparaditya I, father of Prince Vikramaditya must have tried hard through his emissiries to secure the services of the highest religious authority(62) and must have already settled the terms etc. The gift was announced by him but the actual conveyance took place at the hands of his son and successor, Vikramaditya who made the gift for the spiritual good of his parents and himself.(63)

Aparaditya also known as Apararka, the celebrated author of "Apararka Commentary" on Yadnyavalka Smriti was an ambitious king. He had sent envoys to the court of contemporary kings(64) and was keenly interested in establishing his cultural superiority. The priest chosen was Sri Rudra Bhatta. He was to stay at the temple of Murudesvara as he was invited not for a temporary period to perform a certain ceremony and return home but to say there with family (~Sapparivara) for a long time.

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(62) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 23, Line 67 (Vikramaditya's Panhale grant).
(63) Ibid. Line 73.
(64) Mankh, 'Sri Kanthacharita' Sarga 25 Verses - 109-110.

This was not the first time when a highly learned pundit (Para Brahmane, Mahā Brahman) was invited to the Konkan. King Nagarjun had invited Madhav Pundit from Hastigram Madhya Pradesh, a century before this period as the grant is dated 27th August 1039 A.D. on the occasion of the solar eclispe. It was a gift to the priest not attached to any temple. Hence he was free to cultivate the land in Munjavali gram or get it cultivated (Karsatah Karsayato va) whereas in the case of Varanasi priest above there is no such provision for cultivation either by himself or by his dependants. We may therefore believe that the agricultural services were to be provided as a part of the gift. The reference to 'Samasta Rājbhōgya Saman-Vito' the conveyance of the full amount of the royal share is significant.

There is however no mention of the forced labour or a voluntary service to be rendered to the temple or holy establishments. In this case the views of A. Appadarai (65) are very instructive. He observes, "The employment of hired labour, occasional with such cultivating castes,

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(65) Appadorai, A., 'Economic conditions in Southern India' (1000 - 1500 A.D.) Vol. I, p. 254.

became habitual a matter of necessity when, a non-cultivating caste like the Brahmans or institutions like temples and mathas were the land-lords, farming their lands instead of leasing it to a tenant".

In the'Mitakshara' it is advised to provide lands to the Brahmanas where they could follow their Dharma with freedom from the distrubing effects of poverty.(66) and in the conditions envissaged above, the rulers could also arrange to provide the usual services to the learned Brahmins. However, there is no direct instruction; the only distinguishing feature in this charter is that the grant was given for the performance of the rituals, entertainments of guests, maintenance of ones family and for the religious service to God Marudesvara.(67)

It was customary on the part of the rulers to provide for the maintenance of temples and its establishments. Rattaraja, the South Konkan Śilāhāra ruler in his Kharepatam Charter of 1008A.D. had mentioned the services of the temple-girls, oilmen, potters, gardeners, washermen and had granted an additional amount in the form of a share in the custom duties.(68)

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(66) Vynyanesvara,'Mitakshara', i, 339. ii, 185-186.

(67) Vikramaditya's charter, C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.23, Lines 70-72.

(68) Rattaraja's Kharepatan grant. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 41, Lines 58-59.

Appadorai while commenting on the several units of service that formed the village economy, observers. "Besides the services for the villages there were services in temples which were also paid in land. The dancing girl, the dancing master, the drummer, the singer, the conchman, the trumpter, the decorator, the garland-maker, the torch-bearer and a host of others employed in temples as well as other servants employed in charitable institutions like the 'mathas' enjoyed what we may terme service' inama'. In addition to service inams, there were also beneficial inams, given with no expectation of material services alone in return, but with the object of securing religious merit, such gifts being specially commended in the Hindu Dharma sastras and commentaries on them."(69)

The question of agricultural labour cannot be clearly understood unless we go through a few more inscriptions where a reference to this catogary of workers is made. Dr. Alteker writing about forced labour (Visti) is content to refer to Manu Smriti(70) and state, "Taxation whether in cash or in kind, was both impracticable and cruel in case of poorer classes. The state therefore levied a tax in labour from them for the public works the headmen could

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(69) Appadorai, Ibid. p. 259; Mitakshara', i. 210.

(70) Manu Smriti, VII, p. 138.

compel the artisans and labourers to work for the state or the village comminity."(71) This may be for non-agricultural purposes but there is no mention of unpaid agricultural labour at stated periods in a year as we find in the Medieval European institution of feudalism.

The grants made to the temple establishments can be construed to be for the moral welfare of the village community and hence can beconsidered the responsibility of the people to see that the fields donated to the temple were properly cultivated. We have pointed out earlier that as the gifts of lands were announced publicly to the people on many occasions the people must have regarded these grants as a sort of indirect demand of free agricultural service.

A. Appadurai discussing the point of agricultural labour is at pains to state that "Perhaps there is no aspects of the system of agriculture in the middle ages which suffers so much from the want of evidenre and on which we would fain have more light thrown as agricultural labour."(72)

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(71) Altekar, 'Rashtrakutas', p. 231.

(72) Appadorai, A.,'Economic conditionsin Southern India' Vol. I, p. 253.

Dr. M. G. Panse depends on the theory and practices prevalent during the Yadav period of the history of Deccan, ventures a guess that as the non-agricultural community like the Bhahmans had to hire the services of those who were traditionally following the agricultural occupation, there might have been a system of tenancy. These tenants paid the land-lords the agreed share of the crop. There might have been a sort of contract between the non-cultivating land-lord and the actual tenant according to which there was a conditions that proper maintenance of the land must be undertaken by the tenant.(73)

Dr. V. V. Mirashi did not refer to this point in his book while discussing the economic conditions.(74)

It is therefore necessary to examine this point in some more detail as agriculture was the most important industry in the medieval age agricultural labour and the different type of land tenures form an important chapter in the economic history of the Deccan.

Before we discuss the agricultural problems it will be very helpful if the condition in the Kolhapur domains of the Śilāhar Branch is also reviewed. In this connection we should

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(73) Ep. Ind., Vol. XV, p. 76.

(74) Mirashi, V.V., Silahara Rajvamsacha Itihas, pp. 98-104.

bear in mind the point already explained that the Kolhapur House cannot be considered as one single family but a family collateral with another ruling family at Karhatak or Karad. The numismatic evidence has been already discussed.(75)

Kolhapur Land system

If we analyse the land-gifts to the priests and others given by the rulers of Kolhapur (including those at Karad) we find one noticeable difference in the grants that were made by their collateral families in the Konkan. They hardly gave entire fields or orchards to the priests. They donated villages and clearly specified the exact measurements of the lands in the villages.

This factor is of great importance as it will help us to determine the price of land and also the possible yield at that time. At the moment the point under review is, in the first place the land-grants, and in the second place the agricultural labour

From the eighteen inscriptions available to us relating to this family, eleven iscriptions inform us about their land grants; all of them to holy men either the Brahmins or the Jains Munnis. The only grant of three villages that is included in the inscriptions is the grant made to

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(75) Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, Coins and currency system in South India, C.A.D. 225-1300, 1977, pp.49.

Samant Nolamb. As explained in the preceding pages (chapter IV pp210-11) 'Samant' is not merely a counterpart of the Western feudal lord. He is a potential ruler also. This Samant Nolanb was granted Angakulge and Bopparvad in Mirinj desh and Mirinj 'Gampana' (Miraj division) and one village called Adage.(76)

This land grant appears to be of a political nature and will be discussed in that context later but the economic aspects of the grants cannot be ignored. The 'Samant' secured the grants from his overlord King Gandaraditya of Kolhapur with a specific understanding to mentain the 'status quo'. There is a concealed warning that defaulters will lose their usual privileges of appropriating a tax called Kodevana.(77)

This doubtless raises the problem of the cultivators of lands by different tenures in the area under consideration. We may depend upon the traditional texts like Mitaksara for tackling the problem.

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(76) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 46 Lines 46-47.

(77) Ibid. Lines 49-50.

In the introductory comments on "Dayavibhag" share and transfer of property etc. Vijnyanesvara States "Indeed that which is not a person's property in a thing does not give effect to his transfer of it by sale or the like(78) (Vijnanesvara ii p. 73) that the king had no property right in the land is made clear in the commentary on verse 17 Mitaksara in the Vyavaharadhyay!.(79) (

Dr. A. Appadorai also quotes a portion from the Jaiminiya Nyayamala.

"The Mohabhumi, the Public land, as it is an object of gift the king may give it, away, because he possesses. it. The Kingdom is the King's only for the sake of protection, and hence it should not be given away".(80) Further regarding giving away of Mahabhumi (Public land) Madhavacara explains that

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(78) Mitakshara ii p. 73 " Nahi Yasya Yatsvam na bhavati Tattasya Krayadyartha Kriyam Sadhayati".

(79) Mitakshara ii p. 13 Chapter on practical application etc. "Radnyedamevam Ksetramasmadeva Krayena Labdhva mahyam dattamiti."

(80) Appadorai op. cit., p. 108

though the king has the right to give away that portion of the land that is not common, he cannot give away the mahabhumi.(81)

In the case mentioned above 'Samant' Nolamb came to in the possession of the right to receive the share of the produce and other dues which the king would have received from the lands.(82) Out of the three villages mentioned, two are from the prestigious district of Miraj and hence they were cultivable lands with definite social and political institutions. There is no mention of the property right but only "Sarvanamasya" that is remission of taxes and 'Sarvapadhaparihara' that is removal of all obstacles and problems relating to the lands.

Dr. Panse has observed that the usufruct of the land could be transferred, not the possession unless the king purchased it from the owner.(83) Another interesting point relating to the transfer is made by Dr. A. Apparadorai. He states that the previous grants made by the king remain unaffected by the subsequent grant "even though their rights are not expressly reserved."(84) Regarding the

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(81) Madhavacarya; Jaiminiya Nyayamala, p. 358

(82) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 46, Line 60

(83) Panse, M.G., op. cit. p. 81

(84) Appadorai, A., op. cit. pp. 111-12; En. Inl. Vol. VII, Verse 21, p. 124 (Grameshvasya nripagrahyam pradadayam Sheshatah)

ownership of the land Dr. A. S. Altaker also agrees with the interpretation of Appadorai and others.(85)

The grant to 'Samant' Nalamb also raised the problem of agricultural labour. According to tradition it was suggested by the existence of the village council that the consent of the elders and the representatives both of the Government and people was necessary. The charter is silent on this point. In this connection the charters granted by the North Konkan Silaharas are very instructive and give a clear idea of land alienation. A few examples are :-

(Aparājit's Jinjira copper-plates dated 20/8/993. lines 51-53 Bhadana charter dated 24/6/997. lines 47-49, Chittaraja's Bhandup charter dated 28/10/1023. lines 22-27; Div Agar charter dated 26/12/1027; lines 16-18; Berlin Museum copper-plates dated 5/4/1034 lines 32-36; Chinchani Copper-plates dated 15/9/1035 lines 10-14; Nagarjuna's Thane charter dated 27/8/1039 lines 39-44; Mummuni's Thane charter dated 20/2/1049 lines 40-44, Prince of Wales Copper-plates dated 15/8/1049 lines 40-44; Apparaditya I's Vadavali charter dated 9/1/1095 lines 66-73.)

These are some of theo outstanding charters in which it is mentioned that the royal grants were made in the presence of officials, non-officials and the representatives of the people. The usual wording was 'Sarwanyev svasambadhamanakan

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(85) Altekar A.S. 'Rashtrakutas' pp. 238-39.

Anyanapi Rajputra Mantri Purohitamatya Pradhana-pradhaniyogikam Statha Rastrapati Visayapati Nagarapati Gramapati Niyuktaniyukta Rajpurusa Janapadastatha Hanjamana Nagar Pourtrivarga Prabhrutimsch Pranatipujasatkarsamadesaihi Sandistyastu vah Samviditam yatha."

(All those related with conveyance of the land and those not connected with the deal as also the Prince, ministers, royal chaplain administrators and non-officials, the magistrates in charge of provinces, districts and heads of the cities, towns and villages those appointed by the government and those not connected with the government, the general public, the presidents of the merchants association, the citizens and the leaders of the three main orders in the society (Brahman, Kshtriya and Vaisya) are hereby informed of the grant).

The above mentioned secular grant to 'Samant' Nolamb gives the impression that the voice of the people had very little place in the whole transaction and the new owner would hardly allow any liberty to inhabitants of the area. The Silaharas of the North Konkan had already set a pattern of publicity announcing the grants to the people and the South Konkan Silahar King Avsara II was modest enough to accord his confirmation to the grants of traditional right of three citizens in the villages, to all important persons, old and young, leaders of associations and even the chiefs of the monastries.(86) It is relevant to point out that the said 'Samant' Nolamb was not held responsible for paying his overlords

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(86) Pattan Kudi, (also Chikodi) Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 40, Line 40.

any amount either in the form of tribute, present or part of revenue collection as we come across in the case of Nagai Sresthi, Lokai Sresthi and Adityavarma the grantees of the charter from South Konkan King Avasara II.(87) or in the Bhadana charter of North Konkan Śilāhār, king Aparajit was wise enough to stipulate that every year 260 Dramas shouldb be paid by the guilds of Bhadan to the king as a tribute or a present.(88) There is no such condition in the Gandaraditya charter of 27/10/1115 A.D.(89)

The other grants are more or less maintenance grants to the priests. The Telele charter of king Gandaraditya(90) gave to 16 priests 3, Nivartnas" each, with the Galgutti-Sajayapalli orchards (wadi) in the Gudyam village. Four Nivartana land in Gudalaya village for the welfare of the monks (Munis) in that village. Three Nivartana land for the religious service to Sankar Buddha and Jain Tirthanker temples built on the banks of 'Ganda-sagar' Lake in Irikudi village. One 'Vriti' each for the manager of the Grand Feast (Laksha-Bhojan) at Prayag (a place of confluence of Panchganga and Bhogavati rivers about 4 miles " North-West of Kolhapur(91)

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(87) Ibid. Lines 36-37.
(88) Ibid No. 7. Lines 88-89.
(89) Ibid No. 46.
(90) Ibid No. 45, Lines 30-31.
(91) Mirashi, V.V. 'Silahara Rajvamshacha Itihas' etc. p.253. Dr. Mirashi does not regard 'Sriprayaga' mentioned in this charter (Line 31) as Prayaga in Uttar Pradesh. This point is discussed in Chapter on dynestic history above pp192-93.

and for the routine religious service at the temple of Gudalesevara. Further the king continued the previous grants of one Nivartana land (2 acres approximately) for Gudaleshvara and one half Nivartana (one acre) for the Mahadev temple to the West of Gudalay. Besides these grants a special grant of three vritis (30 acres) for the 'Panchalangala Vrat' ceremoney in which (Five ploughs of gold and five of hard wood, ten bullocks along with land are granted on auspicious occassions such as eclipse and Yugadi-tithi). The total land-grant thus works to about 200 acres in three villages. This appears to be a major grant as other grants made by the same king as well as his successors are one quarter of a Nivertana[92] land by king Vijayaditya (Kolhapur charter 1/2/1142)[93] and one quarter of ¼ a Nivartana land by the same king the Bamani grant dated 8/9/1150.[94]

The other great endowment granted to the priest by Gandarāditya (Kolhapur grant 26/6/1126) was the construction of houses for the twelve priests and Land for their maintenance and expenses for keeping the Kedatiya temple in good repair in Brahmapur.

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(92) Nivartana is equivalant to 2.08 acres or roughly one hectare. Mirashi V.V. 'Śilahāra Rajavamshacha Itihas' p. (100).

(93) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 53, Line 24.

(94) Ibid. No. 54, Line 21.

The grant of fields was made by king Bhoja II[95] one field was granted for meeting the food expenses and one garden for supplying flowers.

If we scrutinize the grants as detailed above, certain facts attract our attention. The facts throw much light on the economic conditions in Kolhapur dominion and help us to understand the economy better. The interesting land grant however was by Bhoja II[96] and some private individuals. According to this Inscription the earlier grant was for the food and housing off four Brahmins, the subsequent grant was Kaliyana Nayak to the same four Brahmins but the land and the houses are partly of good quality and partly of inferior quality. According to the patron's statement 2 Nivartanas of mixed quality made one Nivartana of good quality, and hence proper balance was maintained and the priests were well provided for by this arrangement.

The third grant was made by Kaliyana Nayak which included a part of land in the Vritti of grant-daughter of Samavedi priest Somesvara Bhatta. We are not concerned at the moment with other consideration than the size of land and its grade.

Another important grant was by King Bhoja II[97] ~~Grant~~ offering Kasheli village in Ratnagiri district for meeting the expenses of feeding 12 Brahmins daily.

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(95) Ibid. No. 60 (Kashali grant of Bhoja II)
(96) Ibid. No. 59, Lines 30-33.
(97) Ibid. No. 60, Lines 33-34.

Even a cursory look at the grants made by the Kolhapur kings would convince us that the priests and the monks who were recepients of these grants were neither supposed to cultivate the lands nor were they assigned the lands as 'jagirs.' The only purpose served by the grants was that the state or the wealthy individuals within the domains of the Kolhapur kings, were to make provision for the expenditure and meet the expenses by treating the lands as a sort of security against that expenditure.

The priests and the monks and especially the latter, were not supposed to cultivate the lands, they were not expected to how any concern for the wordly matters. The second factor is that the provision for their food and housing was assured by these grants. In the circumstances the cultivation was left to the traditional workers.

The land grant from the Kolhapur kings appear to be insignificant in comparison with those of North-Konkan Silaharas. During the period of about 130 years (1058-1191) the number of villages granted by Marsimha, Gandaraditya and Bhoja II (the only three among the twelve rulers of the Kolhapur whose charters are available) is only five, and out of these five, the three villages granted were for secular purpose, in fact it was a 'Jagiri' granted to a feudatoory. As against this meagre land-grants the North Konkan King Mummini alone granted a substantial revenue from six villages and gifted away 2 fields at one time only.(98) However there is no 'jagir' or 'nam' granted like the one granted by king Gandaraditya to his feudatory 'Samant' Nolamb.

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(98) Ibid. No. 14.

The land system in Kolhapur dominion was slightly different from that prevailing in the Konkan. As observed in the preceding pages (Supra p.365) the Kolhapur kings did not think it necessary to publicly announce their land-grants after consulting the leading officials and civilian representatives. The Kolhapur kings appear to be dragged into the land grants, no doubt for spiritual progress by their ministers and leading personalities. Mailapaiya the ministers of king Gandaraditya persuades him to purchase about 5 acres of land in Koninj-vad (Miraj Div) from two village leaders (Nargavunds) then he added his own contribution of 10 acres (4 Nivartanas) and requested the king to make the consolidated grant for the housing and maintenance of twelve priests and for keeping the Khedaditya temple in good repair.(99)

Mailapai had about 10 acres of land in the village of Konijvad (Miraj Division) which he offered as a gift for religious purposes. It shows that the ministers must be in possession of quite a large area of land. Another instance of a similar grant was at the request of a Sahavase Brahman Lokana Nayak. He had built a Matha at Kolhapur and for the repair and maintenance of the Math and for the food and other expenses he persuaded the king to make a grant of a house and 2 acres of land (550 vappakas) in Kopparvad in the Ednad Division. This same Kaliyâna Nayak improved the land grants by the village leaders (Mahajanas). In the Pow village in Tarugekholla by his own contribution of 2 acres of superior and 2 acres of inferior land and houses of good and medium types combined.(100)

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(99) Ibid. No. 48, Lines 36-38.

(100) Ibid. No. 60, Line 17.

The third instance which can be cited is King Vijayaditya's grant of about one acre of land (1/4 Nivartana) and a small house 12 square hands' to a Jain temple built by a servant of his feudatory Kamadeva. The servant Vasudev was an attendant whose work was to offer chewing pan (Tambul) to his master.(101)

The three instances refered to above show that the ministers of these kings, the leading priests, subordinate officials and even the village leaders were in possession of a sizable wealth mostly in the form of lands. They could buy and sell lands. Lokana Nayak bought the land from Nemana and Laxmana, or king Gandaraditya bought the land from Rajaja and Senaya, the leaders of the village community. This clearly proves the existence of private property in land and also shows that Brahmans who had been granted lands for religious service could retain the hereditary title and could buy a land as was done by Sahavasi Lokana Nayak. In the Konkan also King Chittaraja purchased a piece of land in Nahur from one Wadani Bhatta.(102) This suggests the existence of priests as land-lords.

Before we discuss temple economy and the position of priests as land-lords we shall first examine the gifts of flower gardens and orchards in the three dominions and also consider its effect on the economy as a whole.

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(101) Ibid. No. 53, Lines 18-19.

(102) Ibid. No. 9, Line 42.

Orchards and Gardens

The fruit gardens (Aramak) given in cherity by Aparajit in his Janjira charter (dated 20-8-993A.D.) in Chammele - Vakhade village[103] was surrounded by orchards on all sides. It seems the 'Aramarks' in North Konkan were usually betelnut orchards and therefore there is no specific mention of the type of fruits grown in the orchards. Betelnut and co-coanut palms were imported into India from Malaya-Ceylon in the beginning of the Christian era[104] and since then these two fruits acquired importance in the economy of thew Western coast of India.

As regards the co-coanut it is seen that in the 10th and 11th centuries it was considered more as a fruit for offering to the deities and a commodity of ceremonial luxury than a commercial commodity at least in the North Konkan if nor in Kerala. The very fact that King Alyap was given a ceremonial bath by sprinkling co-coanut water over his head at the time of coronation shows how this fruit was considered a precious one at the ceremony.[105] This reference to co-coanut is in the above inscription of South Konkan ruler. The other reference is in the North Konkan Silahara Somesvara's Ranvad stone-Inscription[106] (" 2 Nariyale denenimitte"). The translation of this Marathi line is - 'with 2 co-coanuts' where the gift of the produce of fields is made by offering two co-coanuts. The reading of this Inscription is controversial.[107]

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(103) Ibid. No. 6, Lines 63-76.
(104) Bom. Gaz., Vol. II (1978) p.2.
(105) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.41, Vol. 25.
(106) Ibid. No. 38, Line 7 (2 Nāriyale dene nimitte)
(107) Mirashi explains that offering of two coco-nuts was a token offering Ibid. p. 175 n. 4.

We have come across many instances when several articles were distributed by way of gifts on some auspicious occasions. Even dried grass in small bundles was given to priests as gifts on the Margasitras's. New moon day (30-11-1198) by Ananta Deva II.(108) However we have not found even one inscription in which there is a reference to the gift of co-coanuts either to the priest or offerings to any deity. (The reference to Nariyale in Somesvara's Ranvad stone. Inscrpition is in different contest-Supra).

In case of Areca-nuts we have ample evidence to state that it was not only considered as a commercial commodity but was a source of revenue to the state.(109)

The area from Goa to Thana had been famous for the areca-fields and the belelnuts from Srivardhan had acquired a great reputation (The Rothas of Srivardhan). In practically every gift of orchard it was understood that the 'phophal trees' were involved except where specially mentioned differently as in the case of the mango-grove.(110)

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(108) Ibid. No.33, Lines 15-16.

(109) Haripaladevas Mahul Stone-Inscription.
Ibid. No. 26, Lines 7-8.

(110) Aparaditya's Change Stone Inscription C.I.I.
Vol. VI, No. 22, Line 16.

As regards Mangoes we may presume that the 'Vāṭika' given as a gift in Chandyegram near Uran might have been a mango-grove.(111)

We may state with certainty that most of the orchards (Aramakas and Vatikas and Wadi's) given as gifts in Konkan were mostly of betelnut palm trees. Rattaraja in his Ballipatam charter (dated 24-12-1010)(112) gave away an orchard called Avadi, South of Palwure. There is however a possibility that the orchards must have some co-coanut Palm trees also as the location is on the coast-line ('Wori Bhata samipa samudrah' Line 59). The gift of orchards mentioned in Aparajit's Janjira copper-plate (line 63) Chittaraja's Diva Agar Copper-plate (line 29) Haripaldeva's Mahul stone-Inscription (Line 7-9). Apraditya's II's Thane stone Inscription (113) (Line 9) and Parel stone-Inscription (Line 12) relates to the gift of betelnut palm trees whereas the Change Stone-Inscription of Somesvara might have been mango-grove as mentioned above.

In the inscriptions of the Kolhapur rulers there is hardly any reference to orchards or fruit gardens. The only reference to a non-agricultural field given as a gift is Gandaraditya's Tabele copper-plate Line 29 where Galgutti-Sajaypalli along with lands measuring from 2 acres to 6 acres was granted to the sixteen newly wed Brahmins.

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(111) Somesvara's Change Stone-Inscription Ibid. No. 39 Line 10.

(112) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 42, Lines 51-56.

(113) Ibid. No. 31 and 32.

The gardens however are frequently mentioned as gifts given by the king and citizens to the religious institutions. One garden situated between two wells in Ednad was donated by Nemgavund to a Jain temple at the command of Queen Nagaldevi, wife of Gandaraditya. This graden was an important gift as a supply of flowers for the worship of the Teerthankar would be constant. Similarly King Vijayditya at the request of his maternal uncle donated a garden of 30 'stambha' in area for the worship of Jain Teerthanker in the Madhur village.(114) King Bhoja II(115) also made a gift of a garden specially for making flowers available for the worship of Uma Maheshvar in Kolhapur. This shows that flower gardens were maintained in the Kolhapur dominions for the purpose of worship at the temples. There is however very scanty evidence to prove that flowers had become a commercial commodity or a taxable commodity like areca-nuts in the Konkan or betel-leaves in Kolhapur.

As regards areca-nuts it is very interesting to read that king Avasara of South Konkan had demanded an annual levy of 200,000 areca-nuts besides the cash payment of 40 Dinars from the leading merchants for continuing their traditional rights. A levey of sucha a large size must not have appeared beyond the capacity of the two lakhs wealthy merchant land-lords. We can make a modest guess that if two lakhs nuts are to be given as a tax the actual produce must be about 20 times that amount. If we take an annual produce from one areca nut palm as 1000 per year the

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(114) Ibid., No. 54, Line 22

(115) Bhoja II's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription, Ibid. No.58, Line 25.

number of palm-trees must be about 500. This obviously is quite a substantial possession by the three merchants.(116)

The gardens which figure so much in Kolhapur inscription hardly find any mention in the Konkan inscriptions (except Rattaraja's Kharepatan Charter of 1008 A.D.). However it is important to note that while deliminating the boundaries of various villages and fields donated by the rulers and rich men of Konkan, many flowering plants are mentioned. The Kausumbi tree is mentioned very extensively. However the cultivation of flowering plants in the gardens might not have received that much attention from the people or there was no occasion to mention them in that context. It is quite clear that the flowers were needed for the worship of duties and there are many varieties of flowers in the Konkan area, the most attractive being the wild-flowers of various colours and size such as the jasmine, champak, Lotus, Chammeli, Bakul, Kevada etc.

It is strange to find that while marking the boundaries of the various villages in the Kolhapur-Miraj territory there is no mention of important fruit trees. In the Talele inscription (117) only Khadir tree granted is mentioned. The boundaries of the three villages granted to Samant Nolamb by Gandaraditya have not been specified in the usual manner.

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(116) Avasara II's Chikodi Copper-plate. Ibid No.40, Lines 37-38.

(117) Gandara ditya's Talele Copper-plate. Ibid No. 45, Line 43.

Bhoja II's inscription granting Kasheli in Ratnagiri District to twelve Brahmins mentions betel-nut palm grove as one of the marks of the border. That reference is however to a place in the Konkan area. It is possible as most of the grants by the Kolhapur rulers were of lands of specified areas or of fixed share in the contribution of taxes, there were hardly any occasions to refer to any important trees on the boundaries as required by Yajnyavalkya (118) Smriti.

Besides betel-nuts and flowers the other commodity in demand appears to be the chewing betel leaves. The betel-leave creepers must have been planted in abundance.

Wherever the areca-nut palms were planted. 'Tambul' or the chewing roll was needed at the time of the Puja. The priests and the other important persons connected with the temples demand the betel-leaves. We have a clear indication in the Kolhapur stone-inscription of 1st February 1142 (118-A) during Vijayditya's period that an attendant whose work was to serve the chewing roll (Tambul) to his master (Kamdev the feudatory of the latter) had sufficient wealth to build a temple. The very fact that there were officers in charge of areca-nut palms called 'pungen Hadap' in South Konkan and 'hadapval' in Kolhapur who were to exercise control over the business in palm trees and betel-leaves respectively, proves the importance of these items. Moreover the betel-leaves were taxed

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(118) Yajnyavalkya Smriti Sima Vivada Prakarana Lines 25-30 p. 104; Mitakshara ii comments on verse 151.

(118-A) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 53, Vijayaditya's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription Line 21.

in Kolhapur Kingdom (Gandaraditya's Kolhapur stone-Inscription of 28/10/1158(119)). In the Konkan there is no separate mention of the betel-leaves as it was a side produce with the palm trees and was included in the 'Sa Vrakshamalakulaha' etc. that is the trees along with the creepers etc.

Fruits Appadorai has mentioned the following varieties of fruits cultivated in the country described by many foreign travellers. They are as follows :- Mango, bread fruit, bloqui plantain, cocoanut, fig. citron, orange, lime, lemon, pomegranate jack, cucumber, date, banana, and fruits called by Chinese writens Yu-kan, tong-lo and K'un-lun palm.(120)

From the above list the fruits known to most of the people in Maharashtra are. Mango, plantains, co-coanuts, pomegranate, cucumber and tamarind which are mentioned in the Inscriptions under study.

It is however an unpleasant fact that most of the varieties of the now popular mangoes like Alphonso, were introduced by the Portuguese on the Western Coast-line. The fruits which have become household names like the Papaya, Guava cashew, and tomato were also brought by the Portuguese, and melons, apples of different types and dates were brought into India by the Muslim rulers in the sixteen centuries. It is therefore difficult to find out many types of fruits during the period. Wild berries are mentioned as bushes on the boundaries.(121)

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(119) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 49, Lines 26-32.
(120) Appadorai A., Op.cit. p. 184.
(121) Mummuni's Thane Copper-plates C.I.I., Vol.VI, No.14, Line 113.

It is however worthwhile noting that in 'Chhitaraja's Bhoighar copper-plate inscription(122) there is a clear reference to several fruit trees like cocoanut, Jackfruit and mango and also champak flower trees. It is stated that these fruit-bearing and flowering plants were included in the Orchard (Aramak in the two villages of Kardanda and Kolvali near Bhoighar Raigad district). This also supports the above inference that the Aramakas and Vatikas referred to in the various inscriptions of the Konkan region contained not only the areca-nut palms but also a few tree-groves of different types also.

If we examine the various fruits mentioned indirectly while describing the boundaries we come across plantain-trees (kelavraksa) in Vikramaditya's Panhele inscription(123) on the bank of the Kel. river. It must befull of these trees and hence we can say that the plantain trees were grown in abundance.

There is also one point which must be borne in mind that the Aramakas and Vatikas mentioned in the inscriptions which relate to Sopara and the South Konkan must have contained sufficient number of plantain trees. These areas are traditionally known as the areas famous for Plantains.(124)

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(122) Maharashtrantil Kahi Prachin Tamrapat Va Silalekh e.d. M.G. Dixit pp. 32-45.

(123) Panhale Copper-plate, C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.23, Line 74.

(124) Chaul - Varthema, Travels. p. 114.

An important berry the 'jambul' is mentioned in Mummuni's Thane Inscription[125] (lines 128 and 144) and these trees must have been grown not only on the coastal strip but also in the interior lands.

Tamarind is mentioned in the Thane Inscription at many places (Lines 114, 116, 121) as a tree marking the boundary line of fields. The other fruit the Avala or 'Amalaka' (Emblic Myrobalm) is not mentioned in the Konkan Inscription but is mentioned in the Kolhapur inscription of King Gandaraditya along with black pepper, cummin-seeds and such crops (Lines 26-32)

In South Konkan (Rattaraja's Kharepatan Inscription)[126], two villages are mentioned 'Kuśmāndi' and 'Sachandakapitha' it may be reasonable to infer that the meaning of the words Kusmandi (Line 44)and Kapitha (Line 45) is 'places known for Pumpkin gourd and Eleplant apple' respectively. This would give us some idea of the fruits grown in the Konkan region.

Crops :- The paucity of evidence does not permit us to make definite statements about vegetables and garden produce. Before we examine the indegineous crops both in Konkan and Kolhapur areas it will be worth while quoting Dr. Atleker on the general condition of field produce during our period.

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(125) C. I. I. Vol. VI, No. 14 (Mummuni's Copper-plate grant dated 1049 A.D.)

(126) Ibid. No. 41.

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"The chief crop in Maharashtra must have been jawari, bajri and oilseeds and Karnatak must have produced cotton in addition. Konkan was rich in cocaonuts, betel-nuts and rice; the Western Ghats and parts of Mysore yielded large quantities of sandal, teak and ebony wood. It may be pointed out that timber of these trees was exported from Western Indian ports since prehistoric times."(127)

Dr. Alteker obviously was referring to the larger territory covered by the Rastrakuta Empire and was not therefore concentrating on the regions with which we are mainly concerned. However it will be wrong to ignore the general frame work provided by him.

The main crops mentioned by Dr. Appadrai in South India especially in the Empires of the Cholas and the Vijaynagar are as follows :-

Cereals	...	Wheat and barley
Millets	...	Jowar
Pulses	...	peas and gram
Oilseeds	...	Gingelly and castor
Fibres	...	Hemp
Dyes	...	Indigo
Drugs	...	Lac
Spices	...	pepper and ginger
Garden Crops	...	betel(128)

(127) Alteker, A.S. op. cit. p. 354

(128) Appad rai, A., op. cit., p. 182

While discussing the crops in Kolhapur and Konkan areas under the rule of the Silaharas we will have to bear in mind the basic difference in the climate and the topography of the areas. (Chapter on Geographic conditions). The dry crops and commercial crops and commercial crops like sugar-cane are largely produced in the "desh" areas of Maharashtra whereas in the Konkan due to heavy rain during the Monsoon, proximity of the sea and the high hills and deep valleys there is a small scope for field crops.

The main crops in Konkan is paddy (Vrihi) for centuries together and the district of Kolaba (modern Raigad) is famous as a store-house of paddy. In the inscriptions most of the fields under cultivation were for the cultivation of rice.

There is a mention of other crops in the inscriptions and because of the ambiguity in the words used no definite statement about the area and the amount of grain production can be made. Let us first consider the rice production. In Mummuni's Thana as Inscription (128-A) about 27 fields from six places - villages and towns were granted to the learned priests all except one from Karad. Now this lone Brahman was from Central India (Madhya- desh). According to the grant he was to get 20 Drammas but no Grah Dramma (House-Tax) and about 100 kg. polished rice. The area of this fields is not known.

(128-A) C.I.I Vol. VI, No. 14 Lines 60-171.

The gift of the other fields and the paddy assigned along with the Drammas are from Mulund (already mentioned above) Borivli and Brahat Adnika (greater Adne). The total amount of paddy granted was 12 Mudis 1 Khandhi and 5 Kudavs. That works to about 7880 seers paddy (1576 kg. of polished rice). This amount of paddy is from six fields from three villages and this cannot be taken as the net produce from a definitely measured area and thus no conclusion regarding the yield per acre can be arrived at (this point will be discussed separately).

The next important crop was that of sugar-cane. The Woul Ponda field in the Borivli Grama and also two fields of Ponda granted to the priests in Brahat Adanika indicate that sugar-cane of a mixed variety probably for producing joggery (gur) was cultivated in larger area in Salsette.

There is a reference to 'Chanavatikshetra' in Khanuvada village and we can easily conclude that gram probably horse gram was produced in the hilly tracts near Virar.(129)

The other crops were seasumum seed/Harik, Vari, Cummin-seeds Mummuni's Thane charter Lines 142 (Saliapkshtra Lines 148 (Saliapkshetra) Line 150 (Kanishetra); Lines 53-55 (Kunbhivati kshetra Koliheerak). Out of the lands granted to the varioust temples and the priests there are many references to 'ukkas', 'ushir', 'Khajan', 'Virak' nikhat', 'khalasatka' dongarika'

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(129) Mummuni's Thane Copper-plate, grant, dated 1049 AD
C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.14, Line 137.

lands. This inferior land was probably meant for such crops. We can therefore say that all types of land had to be brought under cultivation as in the period under study the transport and communication facilities were minimum and every village therefore had to be self-supporting in such matters.

The important features that we notice that many open lands (Vayakas) and pastures (gopracharas) were kept practically in every village. This helped the indegenous production of milk and milk goods. In Mummuni's Thane charter there is a reference to Kavadotchikshetra(Line 150) and 'Mazilvavakshetra' (Line 157-58) which indicate that the wild land provided some of the lower-category of people with their living. (129-A)

The slopes of the hills in the Kolaba and Thana districts and Ratnagiri districts were fit for the coarse grains and the banks of the rivers and creeks were useful for growing the palm trees and also sugar-cane.

There are many references to reclaimed land (Khanushetra and Khajan). In these lands inferior quality of paddy called 'rala' by the local people was grown. The lands which were reclaimed from the sea as well as the sandy drifts were used for the planting of co-coa-palms. This process started from the Southern coast and by the time it received general support the dominions had passed under the suzereignty of the Muslims.

(129-A) Note. Kavadotchikshetra and Mazilvavakshetra may be the names of the fields but 'kavada' a wild bird which is much desired by the hunters and 'Mazil' a big fish found in the creeks in the Konkan suggest the prevalence of such vocations.

The forest wealth :

The region fron Bhadan (Bhivandi) in the North to Goa in the South possesses quite a large number of woods although the lands cape along the Western Ghats from Nasik to Kolhapur also sport quite a number of tall riffs and deep valleys and are full of trees of different types.(130) The coastal region has its own its special type of trees e.g. the mangroves and thorny bushes (Badari, Varali of the inscription). The sacred trees like Asvathya (Peepal) Nyagrodha (Vat) umder mark the borders of the fields and villages as per the requirements of Yajnyavalkya smriti(131) while describing the features of the land there is obvious references to the grade of the land the trees and plants within the area.

The most omnipresent trees in the Konkan areas are the Tamarind, Amla, Khair or Khadir, Kumbh, Kadamb and jackfruits. In Mummuni's Thana Charter of 1049 A.D.(131-A) these trees are mentioned. We may be surprised not to find a referenee to the cashew trees; the reason is that this plant was introduced into Konkan area and Malabar by the Portuguese in the 16th century. Also for the same reason there is no reference to tea and coffee.

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(130) Ante Chapter on physical conditions.

(131) Mitakshara ii, explanation of verse 151.

(131) C.I.I. Vol. VI No 14.

Regarding the spices, Konkan was not considered suitable for the widespread cultivation of pepper, cloves, cinammon and cardomon. The chilies were introduced late. There is a reference to pimpri tree and Pinparikakshetra (field of pepper Plants) Nagrjuna's Thana Ins. of 1039 (131-B) Lines 65, Mummuni Thana charter of 1049 line 85 and line 93) which may give us some idea that spices might have been produced in some areas but not on a large scale like the betel palms.

From the many trees mentioned in the inscriptions we concentrate our attention on three trees, the Madhuk or Suramanda (liquor giving tree), Khadir or marking betel or a catechu tree and the Lime-tree (Vedevapa of Mummuni's Thana inscription Line 123-24) King Chittaraja in his Bhoighar charter of 1024A.D. commands that the 'sura' trees are the property of the State. Whether these trees are in the crown land or outside it, they were not to be cut down or rooted out (Line 78)

In the Kolhapur dominions the Śilāhára King Gandaraditya in his Kolhapur stone-Inscription of 28-10-1135 A.D.(132) specifies some duties on the goods and the local dues that the merchants should pay on the goods in transition.

(131-B) C.I.I Vol. VI No 13.

(132) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription.
C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 49, Lines 26-32.

There is an indirect reference to tumeric, garlic, cummin seeds (jire) black pepper, and mustard seeds. We are not in a position to determine how many of them were produced in the region under the rule of Gandaraditya. These items will be discussed while considering the trade and commerce. The only reference to paddy field is in King Bhoja II's Kolhapur stone-Inscription (133) which affords very little help to form an estimate of the crops.

Regarding the economic aspects of forest resources in the Konkan we have to take a close look at the various type of trees as fuel and timber wood was abudantly available from this in exhaustible source at least in the Medieval Age. Most of the hill ranges in the Thane and Kolaba districts, and especially those closer to the sea-coast, are without thick foliage. They are quite bare as we notice in the Bhivpuri areas, or even the Virar-Adne area of Mummuni's inscription. The point to be borne in mind is that there are about 60 ghats in the whole Konkan area from South Gujarat to Karnatak and only the areas from which the rivers flow are full of thick forests e.g. Amba, Amboli, Phonda, Kasheli, Kumbharli etc. There are however many bushes and in the inscriptions we find repeated references to Badari (Bori or wild berry bushes).

There are also references to bamboo and Pagara trees in Mummuni's charter Line 143 also Aparaditya I's Change

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(133) Ibid. No. Line 9.

charter of 1139[134] Line 13. The timber trees like jack-fruit (Panas) Mangees (Amba) cocoanut palms. The kadamb and Nane variety and the Sal trees which are found in the forests of Sahyadri must have contributed to the wealth of the country in that period.

In the Konkan it is the mountain and the sea that dominates the economic conditions of the region even in the modern age. In the period under study both these natural resources must have weighed on the minds of the people. very much and their life must have been fashioned by them.

There are many references to the mountains in the inscriptions. In Arikesari's charter of 1017[135] two villages at the foot of the villages 'Muladogarikagraman' are mentioned so also in Bhoighar Charter of Chittaraja dated 3-9-1024[136] a forest (Adhyranya) is mentioned. The Brahatparvat mentioned in Mummuni's charter[137] Line 89 is obviously the Sayahdri Mountain.

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(134) Ibid. No. 22 Line 13 Note: The reading here is rather doubtful. However a difinite reference to jack-fruit (Panasa) is made in Chittaraja's Bhoighar Copper-plate grant dated 1024 A D (C.I.I. Vol.VI, No.61 Line 67.

(135) Ibid. No. 8, Verse 26, Lines 14-24.

(136) Ibid. No. 61, Line 66

(137) Ibid. No. 14, Line 89.

According to Dr. Alteker(138) the forests were the property of the government and the expression which is used in most of the charter granting lands namely 'savrkshamalakul' etc. might refer to the transfer of the states right in the forest lands that may be situated within the boundaries of the village". He admits that the expression may mean a reference to state ownership of such trees like sandal, hirda, Madhuk, or Suramandal. However he concludes that "this expression can be interpreted as referring to the states ownership of the trees growing in the forests or by the road side or on village waste lands.(138A)

The other expression used in most of the Inscriptions of the Silaharas 'Satrnakashtodakopetah' (along with the grass wood of the trees and water) also granted the ownership of the side produce from the fields also show how these things had acquired prominence in the life of the people.

The other expression 'Samstotpattisamyukta' (combined with the produce) used in the grants may be not merely a formality. It actually referred to the mineral wealth of the land. Dr. Alteker interpretes the expression 'Sahab - yantarasiddi' as the mineral wealth contained in the lands granted (Ibid p. 242) and this former expression is more clear than the latter and hence the intention is correctly expressed.

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(138) Alteker, A.S., op. cit., p. 240.

(138A) Ibid, p. 242.

Mineral Wealth :- As Dr. Alteker has rightly pointed out that the wealth in the interior of the earth as well as all that grown above the surface in the Waste-land and forests was the rightful property of the state. The grazing grounds and the pastures or Gopracheras' were considered as the property of the community and the state hardly a claimed any monopoly right except in case of trees mentioned above.(139) (Alteker,

There are many references in Mummuni's Thana Charter to mines (Khani) Nikhatpashan (line 123) Khanushetra (Line 145, 154) Khalasatkavavak (Line 145) and Khadakvirak Line 66 of Nagarjuna's Thana Charter. It shows that stones were quarried from these sights. In Chittaraja's charter of 1034 Line 54 refers to Khanalasaksama Bhutatamaryada' (artificial lake in the land) which means that because of extracting the stones the lakes was formed.

We know that stones the laterite was extensively used in the construction of houses,palaces and temples. It is obvious that this stone was quarried in the neighbouring areas. The hills were selected for underground or cave-type temple construction during the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta periods, the cave-temples of Kanheri are examples in point.

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(139) Ibid. pp. 236, 240-41

There are at least 15 temples mentioned in the Inscriptions of the Konkan Silaharas(140) and the stones for the building of these temples were acquired not from outside but locally from the hilly regions near the temples only e.g. Ambernath.

In the Inscriptions of the South Konkan Silahara King Rattarajas (Kharepatam and Ballipatam copper-plates).(141) Dhammiyar the second king of the dynasty is credited with the foundation of the city of Ballipatam (141-A) (~~See page~~ for discussion on this). This shows that along with stones many other things such as wood, sand, mud, metals and other articles must have been used. According to the style of the period, building of the royal roads and the ports was essential for making a city the capital of the state. We come across at least ten cities like Thana, Kalyan, Sopara, Bassein Chaul, Murud, Diveagar, Panhale, Kharepatan Malwan and Redi on the Konkan coast which must have required material of this type.

Water resourses : Just as the forests contributed most of the requirements of the feudal economy of the period the rivers and seas also contributed much to the development of trade and commerce. The absence of navigable rivers in the Konkan created some difficulties, the but the supply of drinking water throughout the year was more or less satisfactory in this region. The problem of drinking water was easily solved by the wise policy of the state and the

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(140) List of table attached.

(141) C.I.I. Vol. VI, Nos. 41 and 42

(141-A) Supra p. 99.

generosity of the rulers by sinking wells in dry regions and encouraging the feudatories and well-to-do people to follow their example, Moreover the time honoured advice to dig wells and tanks for accumulating merit and also the accepted plan of temple-building with the water reservoir promoted the activity of sinking wells and helping water-supply by every means.

The sea water was definitely very valuable as salt-pans sprang up in coastal regions in the Mummuni's Thana Charter the reference to Ksharnadi Khajjan (Line 138) and 'Agar Vedi Kshetra' make it quite clear that just as Khanuvada area along the Western Railway Tract from Borivli to Virar region (Mummuni's charter line 135 & 138) so also the areas bordering the present Central Railway tract from Bombay to Thana (Chittaraja's Bhandup plate of 1026) were used for making salt.

Manufacturing salt was not the monopoly of the state. The kings did not care to regulate its movement and no tax was imposed on the manufacture of the salt. However the Kolhapur, Silaharas allowed the assembly of Veer Vananj to impose tax of one Kolge on a cartload of salt and similar articles.(142) (Gandaraditya's Kolhapur stone-Inscription) Dr. Alteker points out the in difference of the Konkan Silahara rulers in this regard when he writes, "It is however rather strange that even the records of the Silaharas,

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(142) ~~Ibid~~. ~~Lines 30-31~~. C.I.I. Vol. VI No 49 Lines 30-31, Gandarāditya's Kolhapur stone-Inscription.

whose dominions included the coastal districts where salt must have been manufactured on a large scale, should not be specially claiming this right."(143)

The supply of water to various fields was however a great problem faced by the people in the Konkan region. The lift irrigation was in the primitive state and an indegenous method of fastening a big wooden vessel at one end of the pole and loading the other end with a weight to counter balance it and fastening this pole to a cross-bar in the manner of a crane machine and supporting this cross bar on a Y-shaped strong post, facilitated lifting of water from the wells. In the Kolhapur areas The "Mot" method of drawing the water by means of leather bags fastened to ropes in such a manner that when the leather-bag was full of water it could be pulled out and it opened to let the water flow on the surface of the land. The third method of drawing water was by placing earthern pots on a large wheel and turning the wheels like a turbine to let the water flow in the channels made to direct it to the fields.

These methods were not satisfactory to make the water supply to the fields. A lot of labour was required for this and the storing of rain water was difficult. Further the rivers flowing down from high hills did not help storing of water in an effective way to avoid scarcity of water during the summer season.

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(143) Alteker A., 'Rashtrakutas' p. 242.

Temple economy :

Temple economy is an important subject. It includes not only the property of the temples but also its managements which is of such great significance in the formulation of the programmes of public welfare and education. While considering the economy we are always led by the index of production, consumption, distribution. The next important feature is obviously the industry and the transport.

It may be some what strange to apply the same criteria of measurements, quantity, rules and regulations, agreements and monetary transactions. However if we just review the main features of feudal economy in Medieval India(144) we will be surprised to realise that the feudal system in India produced during period of review many political and social evails. We shall now discuss the Temple economy.

The Śilāhāras of the three main dynasties had built, renovated, aided or promoted the programme of the temple building activity among their subjects. As far as the Konkan Silaharas (South and North) are concerned there were about 15 temples(145) establishments within their dominious. The Kolhapur Silaharas patronized the temples of Hindus and Jains and to the same extent Budhist also. The exact number of these temples cannot be ascertained but from the inscriptions available to us we can safely say that the number was 50 or so.

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(144) Lallanji Gopal, The economic life of Northern India C.A.D. 700-1200 (Varanas 1965) conclusions p. 257.

(145) List of temples.

The property of the temples mainly consisted of land and gifts given by the patrons in the form of goods and also many deposits. The cultivation of the land and, the employment of the labour, the harvesting and the other processes were to be organized with the co-operation of the village community.

The management of the property of the temple was not in the hands of a single group but there were different catogaries of people who were assigned their various functions by tradition.(146) The Brahmanas or the priests who usually received the gifts formed no doubt a dominating group in the management of the temple affairs but there was another class of people who were the conventional worshipers called the 'guravas.(147) They belong to the non-Brahmin castes and in the Konkan region they have an important place in the management of the temple. The priest was usually guided by the guravs and there were the servants of the temple like the singes and the dancers, the the washerman and the gardner, the oilmen.(148) and the drawers of water and similar type of servants who managed the temple affairs of the routine type as well as on the festivals and other occasions as decided by the community from time to time.

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(146) e.g. Miraj Stone-Inscriptions dated 1142 & 1144 where the Vira Venenja contributed to the maintenance of the temple of Madhaves'vara. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 52.

(147) Bharat Itihas Samshodhaka Mandal, Qtly, Pune, Vol. 60, No. 1-4, pp 17-22.

(148) Rattaraja's Kherepatan Copper-plate dated 1008 AD C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 41 pp. 58-59.

Every body knows that a temple in Maharashtra was not considered a property of one person but was a sort of trust for the spiritual welfare of the community.

The temples needed wells and tanks and whenever the land grants were given by the kings or the royal officials and wealthy land-lords, they were given with the view to fecilitating supply of water to the fields. It was usually given high priority in the scheme of things. There was always a convention that the wells or tanks must be sunk in the areas near the temple, the reason being that before a devotee enters at the precincts of the temples he must clean his body. The other consideration was ensuring a regular supply of water to the flowering plants and cocoanuts and betelnut palm-tree and even for raising second crop in the fields under the managements of the temple establishments.

Those who were employed to do the work in the fields or the orchards had to be paid or compensated in some way. The service-watans by the 'Balutedars'(149) had also its counterparts in the temple administration, Rattaraja's Kharepatan Charter(149-A) mentions the share of the various categories of the temple servants (Lines 58-59).

The share of the priest and his family in the land revenue of the villages and fields granted to them was considerable along with remission of taxes and cesses.

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(149) Ashtadhyayi 1-1-48, Patanjal Bhashya, Kielhorn ed. Vol. I, p. 118.

(149-A) C.I.J. Vol. No. 41, Lines 58-59

They had to shoulder their responsibility of performing the ritualistic daily worship of the deities(150) or the Teerthanker with flowers and sandalwood paste, incense, fruits, lights and traditional offerings(151) and the occasional performance of certain sacrificial rites (Bali-charu, Vaisvadevagni Hotra etc.) In addition to the holy sacrifiee the priest had to perform his usual sixfold duty to the community, like performing sacrifice, presiding at the sacrifice, learning, teaching etc. and entertaining guests like the learned Pundits from outside to promote cultural activities and make every effort for the spiritul upliftment of the community. As a leading member of the temple establishment he was charged with the work of lighting the temple, undertakings the repairs, renovations, additions and alteration of the temple building and promoting harmony among the various temple function aries. Further he had to maintain his family and see that the amount of revenue and produce assigned to him was properly utilize.

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(150) The Panchamatrayajnya ritual is mentioned in Chhadvaideva's Prince of wales Museum copper-plate originally edited in E.P. Ind. Vol. XXVI, pp. 282 f. Lines 56-57.

(151) The 'Ashtavidharchana' worship of Jain Tirthankara Parsvanath is mentioned in Vijayaditya's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 53, Line 22.

The economic aspects of the functions attached to the office of the priest are important. His position was like a land-lord of the temple-estate and had certain previleges and a high place in the social scale. The purpose of inviting the learned Brahmins from various places led to the formation of the colonies of priests.(152) M. G. Panse(152-A) observes "From the time the priestly community was encouraged to settle in particular areas of the Silaharas dominions and was given the management of temple establishments the leadership and administration of the Agrahara villages became their vested interest" (p. 79 Ibid).

The next important consequence of the separate settlements of the Brahmins such as promoted by Mummuni(153) (Thana Charter of February 1049) A.D.) and Gandaraditya(154) (Talele copper plate 1110A. D. and Kolhapur copper-plate of 1126 A.D.)(155) was to create a class of hereditary land-lords. The names of many Brahmin land-lords who were not priests appear in the inscriptions.(156)

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(152) Bhoja II's Kasheli Copper-plate Ibid. No. 60, Lines 33-34.

(152-A) Panse, M.G. Yadavakalin Maharashtra, P. 79.

(153) Mummuni's Copper-plate grant Ibid No. 14.

(154) Bhoja II's Kashel Copper-plate, Ibid No. 60.

(155) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate Ibid. No. 48 Lines 36-45.

(156) Aperajit's Jinjira Plate Ibid No. 6, Lines 73-76 Mummum's Copper-plate, Ibid. No. 14 Lines 102, 110 and 158.

This hereditary title to the lands later on was to lead to a permanent post of a village writer 'Gramalekhaka' or Kulkarni. In the history of Maharashtra this hereditary post of a village writer as an account art became current from 13th century onwards.(157) In the administration also the Brahmins were employed in large numbers especially as ministers and they were assigned land-grants which also resulted in the improvement of the economic conditions of the Brahmins. We are not concerned with the social and political aspects of the assignments at the moment and therefore we will merely treat the priests as separate from the Brahmins land-lords and the officials.

The distinction between the priest and the man born as Brahmins would give us a clear ideas of the temple economy otherwise the conclusion of'Dvija and Brahman' would be more complicated.(158)

Commenting on the temple economy in the South Dr. Brajadulal Rhattopadhyaya observes "Large amounts that were received by the religious institutions from the state endovments, the religious classes and the compulsory state sponsored contributions from the merchant Communities were slowly being converted into unproductive deposits, though

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(157) Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan Vol.I, ed. G.H. Khare, p.51, Line 30.

(158) Amarkosh - II, 7 p. 325.

occasionally parts of these deposits were lent out to individuals or village communities in return for some special services"(159) (p. 150 coins and currency system in South India (A.D. 225 - 1300).

The unproductive nature of the temple economy should not however cloud our vision to the positive side of the indirect incentives provided by the temple-establishments. The first and the most important activity encouraged by the temple-establishment was the building activity.(160) It was impressed upon the minds of the people that construction of temples was not only a sacred function but a necessary one as without providing an abode to the deity it was futile to expect the provision of the necessaties of life from God. The kings patronized the temples- gave them land grants. money gifts and valuable articles. Their example was followed by the royal devotees, ministers, officials and also the leaders of the communities. Thus the whole community was directed towards the temple building movement.

The building of temples, houses for the priests, the prayer Halls and school provided employment to the masons, architects and mechanics. The quarrying of stones and flowering of the art of sculpture were the direct consequences of the urge to build temples. This incentive to

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(159) Chattopadhyaya, Brijadulal. Coins and Currency system in South India (c. 225 A.D. to 1300 A.D.)

(160) Chhittaraja's Berlin Museum Copper-plate. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 11 Verse 8.

temple-building was a universal phenomenoni in the Medieval age but in the Konkan it had special significance. The availability of the stones and specially the Latterite from the Sahyadri mountain helped to undertake quarry-products. The need for better designs of the temples created the need to invite outsiders and the demand for articles of improved quality was the obvious result.

This mode of worship of the deities again created the demand for flowers, fruits especially betel-nuts, coconuts and the plaintains and sandal wood which in turn offered chances of employment to a number of people. The cocoa-nut and the betelnuts the most popular horticultural produces were in great demand at the time of festival, ceremonies and fairs held to celebrate the holy a occasions.(161)

The functions of the temple establishment no doubt were mainly religious and cultural but they held out some opportunities for skilled and talented persons like the musicians, dancers, sculpture teachers and learned men.

The temple-movement in the South had created a need to provide the temple-officials and the attendants with adequate means of liveli-hood by a share crop from assigned to them.(162) The leaders of the village community leased out

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(161) Ibid No. 49, Lines 26-32

(162) Ibid. No. 41, Lines 58-59.

the lands to small farmers. In turn the peasants had to cultivate these lands assigned to them by the farmers. The work of the peasant was not treated as a forced labour but holy service for the spiritual good of the community.

The above discussion of the important aspects of the temple-establishment definitely point to the utility of such a direction and guidance to the community.

It promoted agriculture, horticulture, music, art, architecture and education and the contribution of temple economy depends upon the size and the rate of the demand of goods and services and the turn-over from the various units of production and the contribution of the temple economy was only second to the agriculture in the country. The financial and banking functions of the Temples and Arya Samghas will be discussed under that heading in the following pages.

(B) Occupations and Industries etc.

While discussing the occupations and industries of the people in the Konkan and the Karad-Kolhapur region during the period of our study we have to keep in view the general tenor of life of the people in the Deccan also.

There are certain limitations like the traditional occupations bound by the caste-consideration and also the limitations because of the un-certaintees created by constant wars and the demands of the local chiefs during peace time. At times we feel that the Medieval agriculture economy was also war-oriented and hence the proper atmosphere for peaceful pursuits was difficult. This was not peculiar to the government of the Śilāharas; this was an enduring feature of that time.(163)

The Rashtrakutas who were the over-lords of the Silaharas till 973 A.D. and the Chalukyas of the Kalyani who replaced them after that, were always engaged in the war with their neighbours. The feudatories like the Śilāharas though independent in many respects were drawn into the military activities either for extension of their own territories or helping the suzerains to build a large empire. The had to maintain a large army and keep ready for the adventure.

The social systems also produced special needs and the artisans, skilled workers and traders had to chanalize their energies to fulfil their demands without

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(163) Buddha Prakash, Aspects of Indian History and civilization (Agra 1965) p. 230.

protest. The occupations and trades followed were those supporting or auxilliary to agriculture. The demands for their wares could hardly increase with the rise in population as the level of living was traditionally very low.(164) The foreign elements like the Arabs and the others traders made a marginal difference in the sale-purchase of consumer goods.

In the context of the above limitations let us try to gather the details about the occupations and industries from the meagre source material at our disposal such as Dyanesvari, Lilachiritra Udayasundari of Soddhala and the accounts of travellers like Al-Masudi, Al-Beruni, Ibn Batuta, Marco Polo and others. We have to glean some material to throw light on the real life of the people.

The occupations in the Kolhapur-Satara region and the Konkan reagion may show some slight difference due to the special needs of the locality but the medieval economy being mainly based on agriculture created need for the similar type of auxillary occupations. The time-honoured system of occupational monopoly based on castes had acquired the sanction of the rulers whether they were the Chalukyas,

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(164) Moreland, W.H. 'From Akbar to Aurangzab - a study in Indian economic history (Delhi) 1972) p. 302.

the Rastrakutas, the Kadambas, the Silaharas or the Yadavas in later years. The 'Panchakariki' - Carpenter, Barber and Washerman had been specified in the Smriti literature.(165) and had become essential for the stability and progress of an agricultural society.

Industries :- The other industries which did not find a specific mention on the inscriptions or the travel accounts of the foreigners can be safely inferred from the available sources, geographical conditions and the traditional occupations and skills.

(a) Distilling Work : In the Northern Konkan and specially in the areas between Bassein and Uran we find a number of 'sura' trees and there are references to the 'Sura' Manda Vraksha. (Chittaraja's Bhoigar Copper-plates 1024 A.D.(166) Madhu Vraksha-Mummuni copper plate,(167) Talsurgeam Vikramaditya's Panhale copper plate 1139 A.D.(168) which clearly means that toddy was tapped or the occupation of Brewers was followed in certain areas.

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(165) Mitakshara 2.13

(166) Chhittaraja's Bhoigher, Copper-plates of 1024 A.D. C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.61, Line 68.

(167) Ibid. No. 14 Line 159.

(168) Ibid. No. 23 Line 75.

(b) The sugar-cane produced in the Konkan was comparitively small in proportions to that produced in the Desh region. It was an old tradition to bring jaggery from Desh to Konkan through the Bhimshanker Ghat hence Panvel-Uran belt had acquired importance.(169) The Brewing business also must have attracted the merchants of jaggery and the foreign sailors and merchants who visited the coastal region in creating a prosperous business for the brewers along with the toddy tappers. Wine distilling was an ancient trade and the 'Sorapana Jataka' makes several references to its spread in many places. According to Morce Polo dates from Shehr in Arabia and Persian Gulf were used locally(170) and wine from Arabia and Persia was little used.(171)

As appointed out in many inscriptions especially Mummuni's Thane copper plate of 1049 A.D. many open spaces and grazing grounds were available in Salsette (Saasti) and Thana-Bhiwandi region. The shepherds must have made a roaring business as we know that Chonde-Monde Ghat was used to lead

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(169) Maharashtra Parichaya (1954 Pune) ed. C.G.Karve S.A.& Joglekar and Y. G. Joshi pp. 32/33.

(170) Yule's Marco Polo, II p. 317.

(171) Ibn Houkal (970), Elliot & Dowson Vol. I, p. 38 (Mahammadan precepts are openly observed).

sheep from Shahpur and Bhiwandi to Ahmednagar.(172) Further the foreigner visitors to the port towns must have x created every demand for meat. Fishing industry must also have made a very prosperious turn-over in the Konkan. We come acros the names of the certain big fish-areas like Wankholi Kshetra Line 122 and Khajja-Vadal Kshetra Line 149. Mummuni Copper Plate 1149 A.D.

Trade and Commerce :- It is evident from the records that the cotton trade was a flourishing trade in the Decaan(173) and indigo and incence was exported from Gujarat and Thana in the 13th Century(174) Seimur or Chaul also figured in the trade.(175) According to Dr. Alteker Konkan and Western Indian Ports were exporting timber on a large scale (176) Tavernier wrote in the 17th century that Goa had a large export trade in jewellery.(177)

The timber business was a prosperous one as Northern Konkan was rich in the forest produce. A special mention of the "Khair"(178) tree must be made which is a good subtitude for teak wood. The other trees used for timber was the

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(172) Maharashtra Parichaya op. cit. pp. 32/33.
(173) Schoff, Periplus, p.39; Marco Polo, II, p. 393
(174) Ibid. pp. 393 and p. 398.
(175) Elliot and Dowson, Vol. I, p. 87.
(176) Alteker, A.S., Rashtrakutas p. 354.
(177) Travernier, Travels in India (Calcutta 1905) p. 319.
(178) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.14, Line 121

'undan' (Khumbhik) which is useful for building ship. The forest produce from the trees like Bibba (Bhambhoda) and khair (Khadir) were used for marking ink and a colouring substance respectively. The tambul (Chewing betel-leaf) which was in great demand in most part of the country contains the catechu or katta' as the colouring substance. Konkan teak (sal) and bamboos were exported to the Persian Gulf from Sanjan and this material was used for house building there.(179) Besides house building the bamboos were used for spear handles. They were in great demand among the Arabs and were known as EL.-Khatif bamboos.(180) Sandal-wood brought from Canara forests and Brazil wood from Malaya was exported from Sopara and Chaul to the Persian Gulf.(181)

Although Konkan could not boast of large emporia of luxury articles yet the neighbouring areas of Gujarat, Ujjain, Paithan and Tagar being rich in the cotton manufacture(182) had given an impetus to this i trade in the

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(179) Ibn Khurdadba (900) Elliot Vol. I, p.15,
Also Al Ibdrisi Ibid. p. 85

(180) J.R.A.S. Vol. XII, (New Series) p. 225.

(181) Yule's Cathay, p. C X C ii.

(182) Marco Polo, I, pp 42-43.

Thana area.(183)

Regions under the minor branches of Silahara families

The economic conditions and the financial transactions in andaround Ahmednagar and Paithan in the 13th Century. Trade was considered as an occupation during this period. There are many references to the financial transactions in Lilacharitra(184) written by Mhambhat in the last decade the 13th Century. Sri Chakradharswami the founder of the Mahanubhava sect is stated to have wandered through the improvised markets at Nevase, Ahmednagar District while describing his itinerary the book throws some side light on social and economic conditions of the time.

The practice of quotation of rates in secrecy or by touch system that is to communicate with holding fingers or writing on the other man's palm the rates in concealment from the view of the others(185) (Hotosana was the word for the code language) still continues in the business world of the Western India today.

It seems there were weekly trade-fairs and the mobile trades used to set up their stalls to sell their wares Paithan was a big centre of trade.(186)

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(183) Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 393, 395.
(184) Lila Charitra, Ed. S.G. Tulpule (Nagpur-Pune 1966)
(185) Lila Charitra, uttarardlha, Part I, Lila, 187.
(186) Ibid, Lila 34.

There are references in the Lilacharita to the currency and the coins that were used in the neighbouring areas covered by the dominions of the Śilāhāra families of Akkalkot.(187) The currencies used in these areas were Kavada(188) Ade(189) Ruka(190) Dam, Asu(191) Tarkavada.(192) There is however no mention ofGadyan or Paruth.

The prices of the essential food items can be inferred from the following facts mentioned in the later portion of Part I of Lilacharitra.

Twenty Damas were just enough to cover the expenses of about twenty persons per day(193) one Dam was enough to buy milk and ghee needed for an average family for a day.(194) The stiching charges for a shirt of 'bundi' type was about one Dam. However clarified butter worth Dam was required to soften the leather of a pair of foot wears.(195) The expenses for the return journey from Navase (Ahmednagar Dist) to Dwarka in Saurashtra and back would cost about eight Damas(196) (L 181) and the price of Saurashtra woven woolen rug or blanket would be two Asu gold coins (L 181).(197)

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(187) Ep. Ind. Vol. XXVII p. 65.
(188) Lila charitra, Uttarardha part I Lila 38
(189) Ibid. Lila 123
(190) Ibid.
(191) Ibid. Lila 172
(192) Ibid Lila 198
(193) Ibid Lila 108-109
(194) Ibid.
(195) Ibid. Lila 123
(196) Ibid. Lila 181
(197) Ibid.

In the first portion of the part I of the book the following information regarding financial transactions is available.

One could buy in 8 Damas only goods of every day consumption for a group of four for about four days.(198) A holy person living on milk only could buy enough milk required for one meal for a day for one Damma only.(199) The price of a 'sari' of medium quality was about one Asu of gold.(200)

The income of a professional priest living on the bank of river Godavari was around one Dama and 3 Ruke a day.(201) The practice of mortgaging costly articles was also prevalent in this part of Maharashtra. The swami could mortgage his nut-cracker for eight Damas.(202) (L 38, 87) and meet his travel expenses. Another instance of mortgaging goods is mentioned. In this case a tailor keeps as a mortgage the clothes of his customer and advances him a loan against that security. There are many references to 'merchants'. The cloth merchants were called 'Dusi'(203) (L 190). The different

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(198) Ibid. Purvardha Part I Lila 27
(199) Ibid. Uttarardha Part I Lila 111
(200) Ibid. Purvardha Part I Lila 190
(201) Ibid. Lila 104
(202) Ibid. Lila 87
(203) Ibid. Lila 190

traders like weav[204] (Chart - L-35) consumer good seller Vani[205] Washerman Parit[206] (L 10) Professional priests[207] (Gurav L 104), Oilman[208] (Teli) etc. In one verse the sweet-meat mart is mentioned[209] (Rundhavanhata). Also the professional preachers and readers of Puranas[210] (Puranik) are mentioned. The goldsmith, trade was a flourishing one everywhere. The 'Sovani-hat' that was jewellery mart, was an outstanding feature.[211] The worst part of the transaction was sale-purchase of slaves[212] (L 152). Other disgusting professions mentioned are the begging, sorcery[213] etc.

The economic conditions described by the Swami during the course of his travel may not be considered as dependable, as the matter. of fact or commercial data supplied by the foreign travellers and businessmen to their countrymen, such

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(204) Ibid. Lila 35
(205) Ibid. Lila 27
(206) Ibid. Lila 10
(207) Ibid. Lila 104
(208) Ibid. Lila 159
(209) Ibid. Lila 59
(210) Ibid. Lila 12
(211) Ibid. Lila 119
(212) Ibid. Uttarardha Part I Lila 152
(213) Ibid. Lila 38, 26, 128, 203, 204

as the Arabs merchants Suleiman Soudagar, Al Masudi and others. Moreover the observations made by the Swami were from the point of view of an ascetic who considered the financial and wordly transactions with a detached attitude. The society that he comments upon is however typical of the Indian society in the Deccan. It was the cross-section of the society and was not exclusively limited to the priestly class or the society of devotees only. The institution of slavery and the practice of mortgaging articles and also travelling to distant places on the mission of trade or religion was of immense importance for the social change and also economic progress in the limited sense of the term.

Trade Guilds : The institution of trade-guilds is an ancient feature. The authors of the smritis called the trade-guilds by the name of Sreni.(214) and started that they included people of different castes following the same trade. However it must be remembered that usually persons of same castes could work in harmony and hence preferred to form trade guilds more or less on the patern of Castes.(215) In the towns the occupations of weavers, oil pressers, basket-makers and similar workers promoted formation of Craft guilds.(216) The merchant guilds in the cities carried on trade even with

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(214) Mitakshara, 2.192, 20

(215) Elliot & Dowson, Vol. I, p.6; Mitakshara ii - 30

(216) E. I. Vol. III, Ap 19-20.

countries outside India.(217) The famous Vir Valanj Samghas' of Miraj-Kolhapur covered a major part of South-India for their trade activities.(218) It is quite clear from Mitakshara that the royal court always treated the merchant guilds with great respect.(219) The 'Srenis' were autonomous units and there was to be no interference in their affairs from the royal Court.(220)

The 'Vir-Vananj' as the name suggests were not merely traders. They were martial in spirit and they maintained private armies to protect their trade as they had to travel near and far. They even had arrogated to themselves the authority to levy taxes on traders engaged in different business for the purpose of raising funds for temple establishments and other charitable institutions. In this respect the stone-inscription issued on 28th October 1135 A.D. during the reign of Kolhapur Silahar King Gandaraditya(221) is very instructive. In this inscription a clear idea of the status and the authority of the trade-guild is available.(222) It gives us the ideals and ideas of the merchant assembly. They have before them the example of the brilliant leaders of the trade-guild of Ahichatra and extol the work of their counterparts

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(217) E.I. Vol. V, p. 29.
(218) I.A. (1919), p.82.
(219) Mitakshara. 2-30
(220) Yadnyavalkya, 2-192
(221) C.I.I. Vol., VI, No. 49
(222) Ibid. Lines 11 and 24

elsewhere and then in laudatory words tell us about the illustrious leaders in the grand assembly to make a donation to Srutikirti Traividyadeva, the Acharya, of the Temple of Rupnarayan of Kolhapur. The taxes were imposed on goods sold in the Kavadegolla (near Kolhapur) market.

The taxes to be paid either in terms of goods sold there or in cash on the basis of measures or weights of those goods. Taxes were to be paid in grain, fruits and flowers carried on head or in carts; taxes were collected from the cloth-merchants, goldsmiths, carpenters and potters who sold their wares in the shops.

G. R. Kuppuswamy has given a list of twenty-six terms used for merchant guilds(223) and he states that there was a heirarchy of guilds. According to him the lowest guilds of merchants were represented by such terms as Settiguttas, Nagara tanda and Mummuri-danda. Above them were Nadu Settiguttas, ubhaya, Nanadesis and Samasta-nanades is refered to regional levels or the federation of guilds.(224) It gives the impression that at the helm of the best guilds a sort of 'chamber of merchants' existed.(225)

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(223) Kuppuswamy, G. R.; Economic conditions in Karnataka A.D. 973 A.D. 1336, p. 156

(224) Ibid. p. 100

(225) Shastri Chandra Shekhar Economic conditions H.M.U.J.II, p. 223

The five hundred swamis of Ayyvole referred to in Gandaraditya's Inscription of 1135 A.D.(226) might be representatives of trade in various fields. It is also mentioned in this Inscription that the code of conduct for merchants was set by the example of 'vir Valanj' who carried their own flag with the picture of a hill. They acquired this high position by their valour and adventure, strong arm and great abilities. The trade-guilds therefore were held in high esteem by the common man.

The Miraj Inscription of the Śilāhāra ruler Vijayaditya of Kolhapur of A.D. 1142(227) after extolling the prestigious position of the 'Vir Valanjus' mentions inhabitantes of 32 coastal towns, 18 cities (pattanas) and 64 assembly halls several petty merchants, district administrators, kings, princess, Monks, seven thousand traders, representatives of 8 parts of foreign lands, and the citizens of Ahhicchatra as the members of the federation. This assumes a grand form and makes us to admire such an association.

Regarding the composition and function of the trade guilds the Inscriptions furnish the following information in hyperboles. Dr. Fleet has translated the conventional portion of the praise of the trade-guilds as follows:-

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(226) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 49.

(227) Ibid. No. 52

"The Assembly of the people living in many countries who were endowed with truth purificatory observance and pleasing conduct and morality, adorned by innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were decorated with pure banner of a hill; whose breasts were embraced by the Godess of perfect impetuosity and bravery; who were ennobled in the original and auspicious Khandali Vanisa (the lineage) of Vasudeva; who having acquired the excellent favour of the Goddess Bhagavati, constituted thirty-two sea-side towns and eighteen cities, and sixty-four seats of the Yoga and colleges of four points of the compass; who were born to those who belonged to many different countries; who were energetic in disseminating the practice of the 'Balanja' religion which indeed the Krtayuga and Tretayuga and Dvaparayuga and the Kaliyuga and; sprang from the churning of (the religion of Gods) Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesvara; and who were the lords of Ayvole, which is the best of the cities etc.(228)

Dr. Appadorai has attempted to reconstruct the idea of the'guild' with the following remarks "The Vira Babajigas were a trading castes. They were spread over '32 sea-side towns and 18 cities'. They were united by a sense of belief in common descent from Vasudeva and by a feeling that one of their primary duties was to preserve the tenets of the 'Vira Bananjiga Dharma' and to spread them as well.

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(228) Fleet, J.F., Sanskrit and old Canarese Inscriptions Ind. Int. Vol. X p. 189.

Primarily a religious community, they had their head quarters at Aihole in the Badami Taluka of the Bajapur District. The Importance of Aihore may be seen from the titles claimed by them. The most important personages were constituted into a board called the Five Hundred Swamis of Ayyavole".(229)

The Miraj Inscription of Vijayaditya, the Kolhapur Silahara King dated 20-1-1144(230) mentions on the executive of 15 belonging to different localities in about 8 districts (Lines 7 to 27). Commenting on the constitution of the guilds Dr. A.S. Alteker writes, " It would thus seem that every guild had an executive, the strength of which varied with its membership and activities. It is interesting to note that these executive committees of the guilds, which we discover in inscriptions, should be also found in literary works like Yajnavalkyasmriti and Nitivakyamriti.(231)

The conferences :- The meeting of the merchant guilds at Kavadegolla and Sedval are very significant. These meetings

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(229) Appadrai; A., Economic conditions in the Southern India 1000-1500 AD. Vol. I, (1936) pp. 393-394

(230) C. I. I. Vol; VI, No. 52

(231) Altekar A.S. Rashtrakutas p. 369

were not held to discuss matters relating to trade but to grant contributions with the consent of the rulers. The meeting at Kavadegolla was held[232] on 28-10-1135 and was attended by the Mayor of Aihole (Line 18 Ahicchatramenisavayyavole puraparamesvar) the noble five hundred (Panchśata vīr) Gavare, Yatrige, Settigutta, gamanda, gamandswami, heroes, brave merchants Bilpana Setti and Govind Setti of Kolhapur; Komar Annamayya, Bijjasetti and Boppisetti of Mirinj; Besappayya Setti, merchant of the king Gandaraditya (Raj-Sreshti) Bammi Setti the minister in the charge of Household of feudatory Nimbadevrasa; the administrator of the temple-establishment of Sun God at Kundapattan Raosetti; Choudhore Bappisetti; Kennapaiyya Setti of Torambage; Chandhore Gorvisetti the mayor of Mayasige; Santi setti of Valeyapattan; Kaliyasetti the lion of five hundred merchants, the Mayor of Kavadegolla Khaparaiyya and representative of all countries.

Sedambal Conference (A.D. 1144)[233]

The chief merchant of 'Vir Vananj' organization who were the residents of Mirinj, Bage, Domikod, Tolakale, Kundili, and Sedambal participated in the trade meeting at

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(232) C. I. I. Vol; VI, No. 49, Line 18

(233) Ibid No. 52, Line 2

Piriyugvarad Siriguppa, Jugulkopp and other places and then assembled at Sedambal market, and granted taxes on the sales of goods like arecanuts, oil,ghee to the temple of God Madhaveshvar which was built by Madirajayya the Mahaprabhu of Sedambal.

Besides this collective grant the leading merchants also announced donation in goods and cash; also the citizens and the trade guilds and the crafts guilds contributed their might for celebrating the festival in the month of Chaitra and the festival of Diwali.

Trade_guilds :

The survey of internal trade in the dominions of the several units of the Silahara dynasty especially on the eastern side of the Sahyadri, gives an impression that the trade was more or less localised. The wandering merchants formed their corporations for protecting their wares from the depredetions of the robbers and greedy rulers.

The merchants were interested more in the retail than the whole-sale trade as the risk was less the gains more steady and the security the greatest.(234) From the Consumers' point of view it was most convenient for them as they did not possess the financial capacity to store the

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(234) Appadorai, op.cit. p. 411.

consumer goods for a long time. The trade-guilds had to consider this factor and therefore were satisfied to accept the reality and the position of wnadering merchants. They were not ashamed to hawk about with the articles on their shoulders.(235)

The term " Vīr Vañanj" appearing in Kolhapur King Gandaraditya's Inscriptions dated 1118 and 1135 AD. indicate that although they talked about their high and noble lineage and lofty ideals, in reality they were pedlars, artisans and soldiers depending upon the demands of the occasion. They had to save their business. They attended the occasional fairs and did roaring business during the festival time.(236) They had to depend upon pack animals and in some cases carts were also used.(237)

The routine trade in the essential commodities was generally less lucrative and therefore and therefore the merchants rushed to the towns and cities which were famous for luxury articles. Some cities like Ujjain had established their reputation during the Gupta period and many rulers entertained the ambition to establish similar trade marts. It was a rivalry in romance and revelry. We have very amusing information about the style of a gentle-

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(235) Ep. Car. Arsikere 22.1188 A.D.
(236) Ep. Ind. Vol. Vol. XIX, p.40
(237) Vartheme, Travels, pp 179-180.

men's life in famous cities in Vātsyayana's Kamasutra.(238) The costly clothes, valuable ornaments and scents were in great demand. The description of the spectacular. life led by the kings, their courtiers and the rich men, given in the "Chaturbhani" of poet Shamalika(239) is most thrilling.

The description of the pompous life of a king of Konkan of the Traikuta dynasty who was supposed to have been an active participant in merry making, dance and free life (as given by T.S. Shejwalkar(240)) may not be representative of the Śilāhara rulers but the frivolty is reflected through such titles as 'Tarunihradayākriśtimantrākshar(241) assumed by king Mummuni. Even a cursory description of the markets on the coastal region convinces the reader that the transactions reflect the picture of a highly developed market.(242)

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(238) Vatsyayana's Kamasutra, ed. Sri Devdutta Sastri Varanasi (1964) pp. 120-121.

(239) Shamalika, Padtalik, p. 19.

(240) Shejwalkar, T.S., 'The background of the history of Konkan' Essays and articles in Marathi complied by H.V. Mote (Bombay 1977) pp. 200-201

(241) Dive Agar Copper-plate Charter of Mummuni dated 1053 C.I.I. Vol.VI, No.16 Lines 6/7.

(242) More land, op.cit. pp. 145-46.

The Coastal trade was comparatively more developed than the land trade especially in respect of turn-over and transactions with the foreigners. The Indian shipping as described by Moreland gives us some idea of the coastal fleets, the war-frigates convoying the merchant ships and the merchandise(243) in the 17th Century which might not be different in earlier time. The small tonnage and number of vessels should not detract us from the main point of foreign trade while considering the conditions a thousand years ago. In Rattaraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate issued on 22-5-1008 AD. we get a clear reference to the tariff collected on foreign ships as well as on the Coastal native ships.(244) The ship-industry evidently was in a prosperous state and the local government was in a position to impose custom duties.

It is also important to note that trade with other countries such as Persia and Arabastan was not the monopoly of the Arabs and Jews alone as some of the local administrators also participated in that enterprise as indicated in Rattaraja's Kharepatan Charter of 1008 A.D. mentioned above.

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(243) Ibid. p. 81-82

(244) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.41 Lines 57-59.

Hanjaman and Nagar :

These two terms evidently in Canarese had confused many scholars. Fleet who was proficient in that language through oversight explained that Hanjaman' was another name for Sanjan and 'Nagar' according to him meant a town or a city.(245) The correct meaning however is trading bodies or Corporations. Fortunately there was no controversy about the communal aspect as we find in the case of 'Mani-gramm mattar' Corporation. Some claimed it to be a Christian merchant guild whereas all the evidence led to the conclusion that it was proponderantly a Hindu trade guild.(246) There was some ground to believe that an Arab Corporation existed in which Aliya, Mahar and Mahmuta were figuring prominently.(247) but as the meaning was known later on there was no controversy. Kielhorn was also misled by the term 'Nagar'(248) but the context in which the word is used in the Terdal Stone-inscription (lines 50 and 53) proves that the meaning is guild or Corporation.

As regards 'Anjuvannam' in the inscription from Travancore (249) A Appadorai states that like Manigramam, it appears to be a trading Corporation.(250)

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(245) Ep. Ind. Vol. XII, pp. 258 f.
(246) A.R.E. (1927) part ii para 27.
(247) Chhittaraja's Chinchani Copper-plate dated 1034 AD Lines 10-11.
(248) Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p.19.
(249) Ep. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 67-69
(250) Appadorai, I, p. 402

The men of wealth and the rich merchants had a great say in the formulation of the state-policy as practically in all the inscriptions of the North Konkan Silāhāras we find that all important men and the leaders of the merchants were invited at the time of making an announcement about grants[251] (e.g. Chittaraja's Copper-plate Charter dated 5-4-1034 A.D.). This should not however lead us to believe that the state economic policy were directed by the merchant guilds nor does it mean that they had freedom in the internal and foreign trade. There were three important factors which affected free competition and initiative of the entrepreneurs. The first was the official interference, the second was difficulties of transport and lastly the needs of the defence forces.

King Anantdev I[252] Kharepatan Charter dated 9-1-1095 A.D.) declared that two officers of the state Bhamanasresthi the Prime Minister and his brother Dhamansresthi the minister for peace and war-both big merchants were exempted from the payment of Custom duties on the merchandise carried in their ships in the ports of Sthanek, Nagpur (Nagav) Surparak and Chemulya (Chaul).[253] Also the

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(251) Chittaraja's Copper-plate Charter dated 1034 A.D. C.I.I. Vol., Vol. VI, No.11.

(252) Ibid. No. 41 Lines 76-77.

(253) Ibid. Line 78, also lines 79 to 83.

crew of their ships were not to pay any custom duty. This clearly indicates that the competition could not be free. Besides the presents to the Kings[254] (e.g. Aparajit's Bhadan Charter and Avasara II's Pattankudi Charter) make it quite clear that Dr. 260 and Dinars 40 demanded openly by the rulers interfered with free competition.

Banking and Credit :

There are no references to money - lending operations in the sixty-odd inscriptions of the Silaharas so far available. However the Kanheri Inscriptions refer to deposits with the monastic trusts for meeting expenses in relation to the monestries. The Premier of Pullasakti (Kanheri Cave inscription during the reign of Silahar Pullasakti (AD 843)) deposited 200 Drammes in perpetuity and directed that the annual expenses be met out of the proceeds of this fund. The details of the heads of expenditure are as follows :

(1) Twenty Drammas annually for the worship of Lord Buddha.
(2) Three Drammas annually for the repairs of the monastery.
(3) Five Drammas annually for the robes of the monks.
(4) One Dramma annually for books[255]

(J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol VI (1862) p. 8 Ind. And Vol XIII pp. 133f).

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(254) Ibid. No. 7 and No. 40

(255) Ibid. No. 1 Lines 4-5 ; J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. VI (1862) p. 8 ; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII pp. 133f.

In another cave inscription during the reign of Kapardi II (A.D. 853[256]) there is a direct reference to permanent deposit as well as the interest thereon. The contributor is a devotee of Lord Sugata (Buddha) who came all the way from Goad Desh (Bengal) and kept 100 Drammas as a deposit in perpetuity (Akshaya nidhi) with the direction that he should receive interest on this fixed deposit as long as he lived, and after his demise the proper authorities should utilise the proceeds for excavating a cave - Hall for meditation of the monks and for the robes of the monks residing in the Mahavir at Kanheri.[257]

In the third inscription, obviously second inscription during Kapardi II's reign[258] there is a similar condition that the fixed deposit of Dramma 100 by one Vaiva be utilised for the construction of a hall for meditation of the monk, and also for meeting the expenses of their robes.

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(256) C.I.I. Vol. V, No.2 Line 4.

(257) J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. VI, pp. 1f; Ibid Vol. XIII(187) pp 11-12; I.C.T.W.I. (1881) pp. 61f; Ind Ant., Vol. XIII, pp. 133f.

(258) Ibid. No.3, Line 3, J.B.B.R.A.S. Vo. VI (1862) pp. 1f; Ibid, Vol. XIII (1878) pp 11-12; I.C.T.W.I. p. 52; Ind. Ant. Vol. XIII pp. 133f.

Before we examine the point regarding deposits in further detail, it is pertinent to bear in mind that the deposits were made by (1) a son of the Prime Minister (Sarvadhyaksha) of Silahar king Pullasakti who was also a minister, (2) a devotee from Bengal and (3) one gentleman from the Kanheri locality. The deposits were with the monastic trusts and in the presence of witnesses and the guarantee is the fear of hell if the pledge is not honoured in future. These deposits and the financial transactions relate to Buddhist monasteries.

The financial transactions especially making deposits and defraying routine charges relate to the temple economy. It will be instructive to find similar transactions in the case of Hindu temples and Jain Basati's and temples.

It appears that banking was not popular either with the King and his court or even the merchant guilds of high lineage the ' Vir Vanaja'. The following few instances will illustrate the point.

During the reign of Kolhapur Śilāhāra King Gandaraditya(259) (Inscription dated 28 ii 10 - 1135 AD) the Vir Vanaj of noble lineage levied some taxes with the consent of the authorities and representatives concerned in Kavadegolla

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(259) Ibid. No. 49, Lines 26-32.

town for the worship (Astopchar Puja) in the Parasvanath temple with water, sandal, flowers rice, (Aksheta) incence, lamp, offerings and rice; the repairs to the temple and for the food of the ascetics residing there.(260) These contributions were on articles sold in the market and were to be paid either in cash or in kind.

The leaders of the same merchant guild (Vir Vanaj) during the reign of Vijayaditya granted 'talagejya' (taxes)(261) on articles sold in sedambal market to God Madhavesvar. Besides the citizens and craft-guilds of Sedambal consent to pay their respective contributions on such occasions as festivals in Chaitra and Deepavali in Ashwin.

The kings, their ministers or other subjects as when they gave their donations always gave lands or revenue from some fields or income from their fruit gardens. Aparajit the king of North Konkan donated in perpetuity Bhadan village (near Bhivandi) on 28-6-99 AD.(262) for the worship of Lonaditya; repairs to the temple etc. to the trade-guild and a priest of Gunapura (Lonad) to ensure these commitments and in return received 260 Drammas as annual present for the royal Household.

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(260) Ep. Ind. Vol. XIX, p. 31
(261) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 52, Line 18-19
(262) Ep. Ind. Vol. III, pp. 267f.

Chittaraj of North Konkan in his charter dated 26-12-1027 AD.(263) remitted 20 Drammas which was the tax on trees on the orchard of magistrate (Dandanayak) Nagavasma of of Velasivar.

Mummuni of North Konkan and Bhoja II of Kolhapur seem to have granted liberal donations yet they did not encourage banking among their subjects. Mummuni in his Thane Charter dated 20-2-1049 AD.(264) liberally granted fields and land produce with cash Drammas to a group of fourteen Brahmanas in the modern Thane/Raigad districts for maintenance of their families, the rituals and usual priestly duties. The same king granted a village named Kietchit in Mandraj district (modern Raigad) on 15-8-1049 AD. to a group of twelve Brahmins for the performance of minor sacrifices (Panch Maheyadnya). The revenue of the village is stated to be 1500 Drammas.(265)

Bhoja II of Kolhapur Silāhār dynesty in his Kolhapur Stone-inscription is stated to have given liberal grants to the temple of Umamahesvara built by a Sahavasi Brahmin(266) on 25-12-1182 AD for construction of houses for four priests, a flower-garden, and two fields. He even purchased one field and gave it in Charity for rituahstic worship of the God.

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(263) C.I.I. Vol. VI; No.10, Line 29.
(264) Ibid. No. 14, Lines 73-74.
(265) Ep. Ind., Vol XXV, pp. 53f.
(266) Ibid. Vol. XXIX, p. 13 etc.

The same King in his Kasheli Charter dated 27-6-1191 granted one village in perpetuaty named Kasheli in Ratnagiri district to ensure feeding of twelve Brahmanas daily.(267)

The question why land or yield from the land was granted to the priests can be satisfactorily answered by pointing to the belief strengthened by the smriti quotation 'Atidanum tu Sarvesham Bhumudanamihochhyate' etc. meaning gift of land is the best gift. (Bhoja II's Rasheli Copper-plate dated 27-6-11-91.(268) Such charities recommended by Smriti authorities were bound to have a deep influence on the minds of the rulers and their subjects especially during a period when smriti literature had received a lively attention from commentators and critics.(269)

It is however strange to find that Aparaditya II issued two charters one on 17-3-1185 and the other on 26-1-1187 without

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(267) Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal Qty. Saka 1835, Vol.6 p. 14; C.I.I. Vol VI No. 60

(268) Ibid. Verses 5 and 6

(269) Visvarupa Commentary of Yajnavalkya Smriti; Medhatiti Commentary of Manusmriti; Vijnyanesvara commentary on Yajnyavalhja; Govindraja Commentary on Manusmriti; from 800 to 1100 AD. Chronological table supplied at p X vii in the text of History of Dharamasastra by P. V. Kane Vol. III, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona 1946

recourse to banking facilities but made assignments to two temples in Gujarat(270) the form of income from land and Orchard. The donation to Somnath of Saurashtra four Drammas every time the 'puja' was performed and twenty four Drammas for special five 'pujas' and the expenses were to be met from the income of a flower-garden and a paddy-field. Another grant is to Vaidynath of Darbharati of 24 Drammas from the income of orchard owned by Anantapai a minister of the king.(271) At least in these two cases the perpetual grant of cash amount could have been maintained by a fixed deposit with trusts of the temples through an agency like trade-guilds of prosperous Lata Desh.

The above few examples will sufficiently prove that banking was not the usual practice. The Buddhist devotees or monks at Kanheri Caves were familiar with the financial transactions of fixed deposits and interest and the guarantee of getting the due amount from the guarantee temple-guilds. The Jatakas have many references(272) and to such transactions. The Kanheri temples should therefore be treated as exception or rather a continuation of the practices familiar under the Mauryan rule but not looked with favour by the succeeding dynasties or the people in general.

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(270) Ep. Ind. Vol. XXIII, p. 277
(271) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 32, Lines 10-11
(272) Jataka'I, 121, 230; IV 256

This explanation however does not exhaust the possible objections to the statement that the practice of banking and Credit was not familiar to the people in Konkan only Konkan and Kolhapur. The very fact that a minister's son and that too of the Sarvadhyaksha or the premier of the king and himself a minister could invest his funds with the temple trusts for a specific religious service presumes the proper working of the sytems. Further an outsider from Bengal who dared to invest his money to get a regular income for life must have known the investment procedures and the compound interest accruing on the fixed deposits. Even if we say that the banking was confined to Buddhist religious institutions the question remains to be answered how the temple trust could pay such handsome interest without taking the help of merchants or businessmen for capital investments ? In the absence of inscriptions which could throw light on this aspect we cannot attach much importance to the compulation of simple or compound interest. Dr. A.S. Altekar worked out the rate of interest of about 17 percent per annum on the basis of the Kanheri inscriptions referred to above.(273) A plausible explanation for the apathy for making use of banking facilities in preference to assigning land and produce of gardens in perpetuity would be the one given by G. R. Kuppuswamy " We find that banking, a

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(273) Altekar, op.cit., p. 372

highly complicated system, had not developed in all its aspects,but was only in a rudimentary stage".(274)

It is however difficult to reconcile the actual facts of a highly developed coastal trade and the ever increasing demands of constant wa and expanding industries to neglect this essential monetary function. The prosperity during the time of Jhanjha (910 - 930 AD) who built twelve Siva temples (275) or Mummuni.(276) (1045 - 1070 A D) who completed the renovation of Ambernath temple and granted many liberal donations, could have adopted banking methods for speedy circulation of money and financial transactions.

The Vir Vanaj with their tall talk of universal trade could not have remained unaware of even a rudimentary banking function. The Hanjamanas with members of foreign extraction and the 'Nagaras' having coastal and inland trade must have had some form of joint-stock organisation.(277) It is relevant to quote K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar on this aspect "The elaborate rules laid down in the Dharmasastras for the grant of loans, with or without pledge or security, and for the taking of deposits with or without the promise

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(274) Kuppuswamy G.R. op.cit., p. 117
(275) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 11, Lines 14-15
(276) Ibid. No. 17, Line 6
(277) Kautilya, B. K. II, ch. 7.

of interest, point to some form of banking. The old Indian banker, like his modern representative, must have been in possession of most of the fluid capital of the community and discharged such functions as lending money, receiving money on deposit, making remittances, and exchanging good money for bad money. The last function became, from the standpoint of the common people, more important than the others, owing to the numerous types of coins currently in circulation, as the result of private coinage, trade between kingdom and kingdom, and the fluctuation of political boundaries.(278)

Investments :

The construction of temples, their renovation and performances of some rituals had become the main aims of public activity during the medieval period. Large investments were therefore made in the building industry. The kings themselves set the example before the people and their ministers and courtiers were quick to follow example. In the Kolhapur inscriptions we come across instances where private individuals like Sahavasi Brahmin Lokana Nayak(279)

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(278) Rangaswami Aiyanger K.V., Aspects of Ancient Indian Economic thought (Banaras 1934) p. 99

(279) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 58, Line 22

receiving gifts from king Bhoja II for the temple of Umamahesvara which the Brahmin had built. In the Honour Statue inscription[280] we are told that a disciple of a Jain muni Bamgavunda building a Jain temple. The most interesting example of this enthusiasm for temple building is that of feudatory Nemagavunda[281].

The rate of interest :

The deposits with the Buddhist Samghas and the maintenance out of the proceeds for defraying various costs as detailed in the Kanheri cave inscription[282] relate to the years between A.D. 833 and A.D. 877, Dr. Altekar[283] has worked out the interest rate of 17% per annum. As the Buddhist Samghas as centres of religious and economic activities had lost their importance in the Silahara dominions in the 10th Century,[284] the rate of interest in the isolated places cannot be accepted as the representative rates of interest.

There is no direct reference to banking and thus no reference to the rate of interest in the inscriptions of the Silaharas. The Vira Vananja and their two assemblies[285] levy the contribution in terms of articles and create an impression

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(280) Ind. Ant. Vol. XII, p. 102;
(281) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.47, Line 21
(282) C.I.I. Vol. VI, Nos. 1 to 3
(283) Altekar, A.S., Rashtrakutas, etc. p. 372
(284) Ante, Chapter VI
(285) Kavadegolla Assembly C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 49
Sedambal Assembly, Ibid. No. 52

of barter system rather than that of prevalence of money economy and banking. However the following instances would furnish some information to work out the rate of interest

(a) Two merchants goldsmith Nagoj and Revagaunda(286) contributed a sum of money to the local guild (Sreni), as a tax on the sale of Cloth during the marriages in that locality. The rates of the tax was for every Honnu realised by sale they had to pay a twentieth part, i.e. a Vis.

(b) King Chhittaraj allowed a relief in payment of taxes to one of his officer Nagavarma(287) to the tune of 20 Drammas.

(c) Laxmana Nayaka, the Mahamatya of Aparaditya II.(288) made an endowment to God Somanath of Saurashtra, of 4 Drammas for each ritualistic worship (puja). There were to be in all five pujas every year. Thus the amount would work to 20 Drammas per year.

The three examples cited above show that although the banking functions were not orig organised on uniform pattern yet there p prevailed some common ideas regarding a return

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(286) Ibid. No. 55 Line 13
(287) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.10, Lines 28.30
(288) Ibid. No. 31, Line 10

that should be realised by the depositors. Thus instead of 17% per annum, the rate worked out by Dr. Altekar, it should be changed to 20% per annum.

The high rate of interest would naturally ecourage savings, and also a prosperous business for money-lenders. There is no mention of Government supervision of loans, the trade guilds had appropriated that function to themselves (289) to the advantage of the sellers and not buyers.

A comparison of the contribution by the sellers of food grains and salt and those selling cloth and gold-ornaments as mentioned in the two assemblies will show that the farmer-producers had to pay more. Further a charge of 20 arecanuts was to be collected from every buyer (290) in the markets for goods worth one Honga or gold-coin whereas the seller paid one pala for sale of goods worth one Honga. (291) The relation between Pala and Honga would be one gold piece equal to 108 palas. (292) Thus the incidence would fall on the consumers.

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(289) The two assemblies mentioned in note no. 285 above.

(290) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 52, Line 24/25.

(291) Ibid. No. 19, Line 27.

(292) Dvyasrayakavya XVII, 84 quoted by Lallenji Gopal op. cit., p. 209.

Price Structure :

Dr. Altekar worked out the prices of articles[293] on the basis of Tanjore measures and the rates of paddy/rice in relation to other essential commodities to determine the prices. He has accepted Dr. E. Hultzch's equivalents of South Indian measures to the pounds of the British period.[294] According to this Kolam is equivalent to 72 lbs. (32.68 kgs.)

He has worked out the price of rice in relation to other commodities as follows[295] :

The price of Ghee 7½ times that of rice
" " Sweet ghee 12 times that of rice
" " Sweet oil 12½ "
" " Curds 6/5 "
" " pulses 6/5 "

Other consumption goods of daily use[296]

The price of salt 2/5 times of rice
" " Sugar 2½ "
" " Pepper 12 "
" " Mustard 6½"
" " Cumin 17

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(293) Altekar A. S., 'Rashtrakutas etc. p. 386
(294) S.I.I. II, p. 48 n.5 and p. 77 n.1
(295) Altekar op. cit. pp. 379-382.
(296) Ibid.

According to Dr. Altekar a gold Kalanju was about a quarter of a tola in weight and the ratio of paddy to rice was 5:2 . He thus worked out that rice was sold at about 30 seers a rupee. He based his price of gold in the year 1934 at Rs.20/- for a tola(297) i.e. 11¼ grams. In 1984 now the price of 1 tola of gold is Rs.2025 approximately. Thus the whole price-structure would be topsy-turvey. The price of land that he has worked out(298) would be Rs.25/- per acre in 1934 when the price of gold was Rs.20/- per tola. In 1984 it would work out to Rs.2,500/- pe acre which is definitely low. However the price of salt which was 2/5 times that of rice would be very high.

In view of this, it would be better to concentrate on the relative costs and prices prevailing during that period and which is referred to in the Silahara records.

Inscription	Work	Price or Cost
Pullsaktis Kanheri cave Ins. dated 843 AD	i) Worship of Buddha	20 Dramma
C.I.I. Vol.VI No.1	ii) Repairs	3 Drammas
Endowments by Amatya Visnugupta	iii) Robes	5 Drammas
	iv) Books	1 Drammas
		(Total amount deposited was 200 Drammas)

(297) Ibid. p. 379

(298) Ibid. p. 384

Inscription	Work	Price or Cost
Kapardi II's Insc dated 853 A D Ibid No.2	i) Excavation ii) Robes	100 Drammas Permanent Deposit Expenses to be meet from the interest on deposit.
Kapardi II's Insc. dated 877 Ibid No. 3 (A Buddhist devotee Vaiva by name made the endowment)	i) Hall ii) Robes and other requirements	Permanent deposit of Dr. 100.

Even at the interest rate of 17% per annum[299] and treating the Dramma as a Silver coin[300] the cost of providing a hall out of the interest on Dramma 100, would appear to be very high. The ratio of Silver to gold being 1:16[301] nearly 12 grams of gold would be spent on this work of maintaining a hall underground for the meditation of the ascetics and for repairs alone 3 Drammas that is 48 panas[302] would be required. In terms of labour it would mean 4 workers working for two days.[303]

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(299) Altekar, Rashtrakutas etc. p. 372

(300) Kane P.V. History of Dharmasastra Vol. III, pp.120-121

(301) Sukra IV, 2.92-93

(302) E.C. IV, p.31

(303) Altekar, **pp.cit.**, Table of values, p. 367 and table of wages, p. 397.

The construction cost of temple in Mathagaon South Konkan in the 14th Century A.D.(304) was about 1500 Dramma which would be around Rs. 2 lakhs in 1984.

We can gather some information about the maintenance of the temple attendants and artists from Rattaraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate.(305) Each of the family of temple-servants was to get a gold piece (Suvarna Dharana) from the vessels arriving from Malaya(306) or Indonesia. The arrival may be once in a month and thus a Dharana being about a quarter of a tola(307) the annual income, excepting the rainy season would be 2 Tolas of gold that is quite a comfortable living.

One more example which would also convey the same idea of comfortable living is Ganderaditya's endowment to 12 priests(308) of 6 nivartenas of land about 3 hectares of land in the Miraj area.

King Mummuni of North Konkan showered his benevolences on the fourteen priests most of whom hailed from Karad is also a case in point.(309)

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(304) Mathagao Memorial Stone-Inscription dated Sept. 2,1395, Prachin Marathi Koriv Lakh, ed. S.G.Tulpule Poona 1963 Line 7.

(305) C.I.I. Vol. VI No.41 Lines 57-59.

(306) Ibid. Line 56 Dvipantara is Malaya and Indonesia. (Lallanji Gopal 'The economic life of Northern India) pp 136-138

(307) Bhaskaracharya, Lilavati I. 2-4.

(308) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.48, Lines 36-37.

(309) Mummunis Thane Copper-plate dated 1049 AD. Ibid. No.14

Weights and measures :

We come across the following measures of land in the Silahara inscriptions.

(1) Nivartana,[310] (2) Vritti,[311] Vāppaka,[312] and matter.[313]

Nivartana according to Dr. Kane[314] is 90,000 sq.ft. and since an acre is 43560 sq.ft. ∴ a nivartana would be about a hectore of land (2.10 acres appr. whereas 1 hactore is 2.40 acres).

Vritti is the land that is required to maintain a family on the land-produce and it was roughly of 3 nivartanas.[315]

Vappaka according to Dr. Mirashi is smaller than a nivartana and perhaps 400 vappakas were equal to half a nivartana.[316]

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(310) Vijayāditya's Bamani Stone-Inscription C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 54 Line 21.

(311) Gandarāditya's Talele Copper-plate Ibid. No. 45, Line 26.

(312) Gandarāditya's Kolhapur plate Ibid. No. 48, Line 43

(313) Gandarāditya's Herle Stone-Inscription Ibid. No. 47, Line 22

(314) Kane P.V., op.cit. p. 141

(315) Gandarādityas Talele Copper-plate C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.45, Line 29-30.

(316) C.I.I. Vol. VI, p. 229 F.n.4.

'Mattara' according Dr. Altekar is equal to five acres.(317) The 'matter' is the biggest measure of land. Thus a village would cover an area of 80 to 100 mattaras.(318)

Weight : The weights which were used in the Konkan area mostly concerned the weights of grains. The smallest unit was a scer, then a Kudav which was equal to 8 scers. The other higher units were :

20 Kudav = 1 Khandika
4 Khandika= 1 Mutaka(319)

The weights current in Kolhapur and other areas of the Deccan were as follows :

Kodavana	=	320 Ratis = (One Pala)
Siddige	=	28 to 36 Tolas
Sangadi	=	2 Siddige (56 to 72 Tolas)
Sollage	=	¼ of Kudav or Balla
Balla	=	4 maunds
Kollage	=	16 maunds
Hasar	=	Less than head-load
Maund	=	28 lbs.
Dandige, Solas, Dhillam	=	Description not available
Moru	=	Head-load
Bhandigod	=	Cast-load(320)

(317) Altekar A.S., The Rashtrakutas etc. p. 395.
(318) Kane P.V., Ibid. p. 141
(319) Mummuni's Thane Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. No.14 Lines 115-116;Prachin Marathi Koriva Lekh ed. S.G.Talpule intro; p.104
(320) Gandaradityas Kolhapur Grant Ibid No.49, Lines 26-32

According to Dr. Altekar the Madras Kolam, the weight previaling during our period was of 72 lbs. The nearest weight to Kalam may be Balla (112 lbs) from the above list which is little less than 1½ times of Kalam.

Coins and Currency :

There is hardly any uniformity in the currency that was used in the Silahāra dominions spread out in the Deccan. The paisa, visa[321] which were used in the Ahmednagar district were not mentioned in the Konkan, Chakradhara Swami mentions so many coins[322] which do not find any mention in the Silahara inscriptions of Kolhapur. It is for this reason that the region-wise coins are mentioned below so that we may try to find the equivalence of these coins in other parts of the Deccan.

South Konkan : Dinār, Suvarṇa Dharaṇa,[323] Suvarṇa Gadyān.

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(321) J.B.B.R.A.S. XII p.22.

(322) Lila Charitra Uttarardha part I ed. S.G.Tulpule No.82 (Dam);
No.123 (Ruka); No.172, 181 (Asu); No.198 (Kavada);
No.203, 204 (Tarkavda)

(323) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.40 Line 36; No.41, Line 57

North Konkan : Dramma, Kumara-Gadhyana,[324] Visova, Poruth Drama.[325]

Kolhapur : Honga, Hag, Honnu, Vis, Pala,[326] Rajat Niska.[327]

The common coin in North Konkan and Kolhapur areas is only Vis, and in South Konkan and Kolhapur gold coins seem to be in use, whereas in North Konkan Silver Dramma was a Common coin.

No generalisation from these coins can be attempted as multipilicity of currencies in the Rashtrakuta Empire was an accepted system. There was no Standardization of Coins and their weights differed in the same Kingdom. A new Kingdom meant new currency. Nila-Kanta Sastri[328] commenting on the Chola coins and currency says " and in many small day to day transactions coins seldom played a part, as barter was never the monopoly of a single central power"

(324) Ibid No. 14 Also see p. 457 below for further details.
(325) Ibid. No. 39 Lines 13 and 14.
(326) Ibid. No. 52 Lines 29 - 32; No. 55 Line 13
(327) Ibid. No. 64 Line 29 after verse 15.
(328) Sastri Nilakanta, K.A., A History of South India, p. 328

This comment is especially relevant to the coins and currency of Kolhapur, Karad, Sholapur and Bijapur. We have already pointed out that Chakradhar Swami referred to many coins in the Ahmednagar district where he travelled most.(329) In the Konkan as the trade and Commerce was brisk the Silver coin had served the purpose, and the foreign trade made it necessary to use gold coins as in South Konkan(330) also.

Some of the coins and their weights accepted generally were as follows :

Niska, Gadyan, Hona, Varaha, Fanam were gold coins and 10 pan as made one Gadyan.(331) According to Mangoli Inscrption the table was as follows : 2 Honnu = 1 Varah; 16 Pana = 1 Dramma; 16 Dramma = 1 Niska.(332) The weight of Dramma was 67.5(333) grains. According to Sastri Nilakanta, the gold Gadyana of the Daccan averaged 58 grains.(334) The relation between dinara and a Swarna was 2:5 and Swarna weighed 146.4 grains.(335)

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(329) Lila Charitra, Uttarardha part i Lilas 82,123, 172, 181, 203 and 204.

(330) C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 40 and 41.

(331) Appadrai A. Economic conditions in Southern India, Vol. I (Madras 1936) p. 175.

(332) E.C., IV, p. 31.

(333) Prāchin Kôriv Lekh ed. S.G.Tulpule Intro. p. 109.

(334) Sastri Nilakanta Ibid. p. 327.

(335) Lallanji Gopal, the economic life etc. p. 209.

In the early medieval age, as already observed the rate between metals used as curriencies differed widely. Bhaskaracharya of the 11th century would lay down that the ratio of between Silver and copper was 1:70 (336) whereas Dr. Altekar maintained that it was 1:50; (337) Dnynesvari gives the ratio between gold and silver as 1:15 (338) whereas Sukramti gives the relation between these metals as 1:16 and further states that 1 unit of silver was equal 80 units of Copper. (339)

Discussing the coins Kolhana states (340) that Dinar was a general coin, it was of gold, silver and copper. (341)

A Chinese traveller of 12th century Chau-Jukua states that the people of Balhara (Rashtrakuta) Kingdom use cowries as medium of exchange. Use of cowries as medium of exchange was common throughout India and the discovery of 9834 cowries along with the coins of the Pratihara King Vinayakapala in the Bhaundri village in Luknow (342) had given a convincing proof of the practice. In North Konkan, Thana region was named as Kavadi-dvipa (342) not because the

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(336) Bhaskaracharya Lilavati, p.1, no.2.
(337) J.N.S.I. II, 13.
(338) Dnyanasvari XVII, 322.
(339) Sukraniti IV, 2.181-82.
(340) Kalhana, Rajatarangini VII, 950.
(341) Chau Ju-kua p. 111
(342) See discussion in Chapter III above.

Silāhāra ruler was Kapardi by name but because of the shape of the dvipa resembling Kavadi (Cowrie). The multiplicity of coins had created uncertainties and common people were handi-capped for want of valid currency. Private coinage, circulation of bad money, trade between Kingdom and Kingdom and the fluctuating political boundaries exasperated the common people.(343) Most of the people had to resort to barter system which was convenient.

Taxation :

In the land-grants and the voluntary contributions raised by the merchant guilds in the Silāhara dominions, we come across many fiscal terms. Some of which are not found elsewhere and are difficult to explain.

The main source of revenue to the state was obviously the land-tax 'Sidhāya'(344) or also called Bhumidenaka.(345) It was usually collected partly in grain and partly in dramma, as is evident from Mummuni's Thane grant.(346)

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(343) Rangaswami Aiyangar, K.V., 'Aspects of Ancient Indian economic thought, p. 99.

(344) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.14, Lines 77, 83, 87, 91 etc.

(345) Ibid. No. 21 Line 14

(346) Ibid. No. 14 Line 107

The second important tax was the house-tax. It was referred to as 'Grahadenaka'.(347) The house tax was usually collected in Drammas as it was termed as Grahadramma.(348) in Mummuni's Charter. It seems the term 'Savalakhi Konkan'(349) was a term to indicate the revenue of the North Konkan ruler by way of House-tax.

Konkan-1400 : It will not be out of place to discuss the meaning of the figures after the name of a town or village. Sopara(350) 2000 and Miraj 3000,(351) mentioned in the Silahara Inscriptions and the figures like Banarasi 12,000 Gangawadi 96,000, Nolambawadi 32,000 etc.(352) would not lead us anywhere by even accepting the view of Rice(353) that Nads were called thousands in Karnatak.

The explanations given by the several authorities(354) do not convince us about the rationale in describing the town or villages by such numberical figures.

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(347) Ibid. No. 26 Line 5
(348) Ibid. No. 14 Line 86, 90 etc.
(349) Narendra Stone-Inscription Ep.Ind., Vol. XIII, pp 316 and 383.
(350) C.I.I. Vo. VI, No.25, Line 6
(351) Ibid. No. 43, Line 46
(352) Altekar, op.cit. p. 139, Discussion of this problem pp. 139-149
(353) E.I. XII p. 130.
(354) Altekar, pp 139-149.

If we add up the figures shown after thetowns and villages considering as the number indicative of villages under that chief town it would be very much misleading. For example, Sopara 2000, would mean Sopara had 2000 villages under its control. The census figures, the area and the villages under each of the important towns in Thana district shown in Bombay Presidency Garettear of 1882,(355) a are total villages 2262, population 90,041 and revenue Rs.138,107-00. Bassein and ~~Salsx~~ Salsctte put together had only 232 villages; Sopara being one of them in 1882. Similarly if we add the figures indicated in relation to towns and villages in Maharashtra alone the number would exceed the actual existing villages in 1984. To cut the whole discussion short I would suggest that Kingdoms like Konkan 1400 and Konkan 900 meant the number of important villages in the Kingdom. The numerical figures after the towns included in the Kingdoms indicated the number of houses. Thus Sopara 2000 would mean the number of houses recorded and paying Grahadramma or house tax of one dramma per month. Each village had about 100 to 500 families in the early medieval period and thus they would have about 100 to 150 houses only. If each house containing four or five families was paying a tax of one dramma in Konkan

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(355) Bom. Gaz (Thana Old Edition 1882) Vol. XIII part II p. 2.

the figure would be 1400 x 100 = 1,40,000 and subtracting the reliefs granted etc. the revenue would be 'Sava-lakh,[357] that is one lakh and twenty five thousand.

This is how we can explain the numbers indicated after the name of towns and villages in the Silahara dominions. or wherever there was a house-tax of this denomination. Banavasi, 12000, Gangawadi 96,000 or Nolambawadi 32000 may be better explained as suggested by Dr. Altekar.[358]

The third tax was Kumargodyanaka

The land under the 'Kumari' cultivation by the hill tribes had to pay certain tax in South India[359] for some specified measure. U. N. Ghoshal[360] suggests that it was a tax on behalf of the royal princes at the rate of so much per gadyanaka. Dr. Mirashi rejects all such explanations and maintains that this tax was for the training and maintenance of crown prince.[361] It may however be pointed that this term Kumargadyanaka, is used only in Mummuni's Thane Copper-plate[362] and the revenue from this was assigned to the 14 priests.

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(357) 'Sava Lakhi Konkan' E.I. XIII p.311

(358) Altekar op. cit., p. 149

(359) Niyogi, R. (Miss). The History of the Gahadavala Dynasty Calcutta 1959, p. 183.

(360) H.R.S., p. 294.

(361) C.I.I. Vol. VI, intro., p. X/vi

(362) Ibid No.14.

If it were a tax for the maintenance and education of a Crown-prince it would be a misnomer. A tax levied by the Government can be assigned but a fund raised for a specific purpose cannot be appropriated in this manner. The areas from where the Kumaragadyanaka was assigned to the priests by Mummuni, were those in'Varetika' Vishaya that is areas between Badalapur and Karjat the borderline between the modern Thana and Raigad districts. Eksal, Bhutarli, Vadavali, Asalgaon and Umrauli are such hilly and arid areas even to-day that agricultural produce would be much unsatisfactory. One would wonder what king Mummuni was thenking when he gave them lands in these waste lands. Take for example the boundaries specified of Bhutauli,(363) To the east, a ditch (Viraka), to the South the mountain, to the West the mountain and to North a ditch. When the total land revenue from this Bhutauli would be Dramma 223 per year what contribution can the King expect for the maintenance of the crown prince? It is for this reason that such forlorn areas, Waste-lands, forests or lands unfit for cultivation but having a posibility of using it for some other purpose a tax might have been imposed. Timber, stones and soil could be used by the people from these areas hence the tax. The tax on trees in the gardens was obviously a different one.

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(363) Ibid. Lines 80-83.

There were other taxes for meeting the administrative expenses such as 'Denaka' and 'Padanaka'(364) for the accommodation and touring expenses of Government officers.

In the coastal areas the important tax was the custom duty(365) which was called'Sulka'. In fact the prosperity of the coastal town depended upon the trade and the traders provided the bulk of the revenue to the state. There was however a tax on areca palm trees(366) which only the coastal regions paid on raw products.

There are certain other taxes which were collected in the Deccan but are not mentioned in the Śilāhāra epigraphic records available to us. The mineral wealth and the manufacture of salt were liable for government control but strange as it may appear the Śilāhāras did not claim any royalty in the salt manufacture.(367)

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(364) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.16, Line 16.

(365) Ibid. No.19, Line 81.

(366) Haripaldevas Mahul Stone Ins. C-II Vol. VI, No.26, L. 8.
Note:- Although the trees used for drawing liquor were not taxes there was a government check on the cutting of such trees as we find instructed in Bhorghar Copper-plate of Chhittaraj dated 1024 AD C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 61 L. 68.

(367) Altekar Rashtrakutas pp 241-42.

The occasional exactions such as exactions at the time of the arrival of regular and irregular military and police forces (Chatabhalapravesadanda).(368) Besides these taxes the merchant guilds voted some voluntary taxes to meet some expenses such as repairs of temples etc. for the (369)

There were certain other contributions which though cannot fall under the regular catagory of taxation, should be treated as occasional taxes only. (370) There is one example of this type and that is the charge of 40 Dinars to be offered to the royal person for the ceremonial washing of his feet. This was a 'Nazarana' for the confirmation of some hereditary rights.

Theory of Taxation :

K. V. Aiyangar(371) while, discussing the criterion of taxability, observes that the Indian economist is

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(368) e.g. C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 5 L. 66, Exemptions from these are mentioned.

(369) Ibid. No. 49 Kavadegolla assembly and No.52 sedambal Assembly Voted Certain contributions.

(370) Ibid. No. 40, Line 36.

(371) Aiyangar Rangaswami, K.V. (Rao Bahadur) Aspects of Ancient Indian economic thought pp. 135-36

conscious that taxes must fall on persons, and not on propery. However social benefit must be estimated by reference to the community as a whole. The individual wealthy merchants do get more protection and more favourable conditions but all these concessions, reliefs, incentives and benefits must be viewed from the broader perspective of social benefit. Kautilya(372) had already laid down that tax systems are often used to secure specific social and political objectives.

Rangaswami Aiyangar makes a very controversial statement, he says consumpton is controlled more by regulating the quantity produced than by raising prices to the consumer.(373) This theory might have some relevance in 1934 when both Rangaswami Aiyangar and Dr. Altekar wrote their treatises. The explosion of population in India since then has evidently exploded these theories.

Burden of Taxes :

Lallanji Gopal(374) observes, "The fendalisation of the state structure in our period and the emergence of petty

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(372) Kautilya, Arthasastra, II, 25 p. 119.

(373) Aiyangar Ibid. p. 136

(374) Lallanji Gopal 'The economic life in Northern India p. 250.

fendal chiefs was bound to have on adverse effect on the economic system in general." The fendal lords needed money for many purposes but mostly for their wars and payment of tributes.(375) North-Konkan Silaharas had to face several wars and piratical raids and Kolhapur, Bijapur and Sholapur areas were always witnessing the marching of troops. The burning of cities and towns(376) all this meant that the Silaharas and their subjects permanently lived under war-economy. However Rangaswami would say 'Heavy taxation was there but it was the price of protection, and good to high moral purpose.(377)

Remission of taxes :

(1) Magistrate (Dandanayak) Nagvarma(378) who gave donation to Govind Brahmana from Tipaka for the sixfold priestly duties, received twenty dramma tax relief on trees from his orchards from king Chhittaraj in 1027 A.D.

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(375) Mummuni had to pay five lakh gold pieces to Kadamba King Shashta II E.I., XIII, p. 310.

(376) Satyasrayas attack on Thane Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 42; Jaykesi I attacked North Konkan Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII pp. 316 and 383.
Kumarpales attack. Hemchandra Kumarapal Charita Ch. 6 40-70.

(377) Aiyangar R. K. V. op.cit. p. 138

(378) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 40 L. 29

(2) King Mummuni[379] confirmed the property rights of the Dipakagar Village and three estates donated by his queen to the priests. The residents of the villages were granted remission of taxes paid as touring and halting expenses for government servants. This confirmation was accorded in 1053 A.D.

(3) King Anantapala I[380] remitted customd duty on the vessels plying on the Konkan coast of his ministers who were also traders. Also he ordered no collection of cess from the crew of their ships. These concessions were granted in 1095 A.D.

(4) King Aparaditya I.[381] remitted house taxes in case of 13 categories of persons connected with temple of Jogesvari. This was granted in 1137 A.D.

(5) King Haripala[382] remitted house tax in Mahaval village and the tax on areca palm trees was to be reduced to only 3 Dramma per one hundred trees.

There were no tax remissions in Kolhapur Kingdom but voluntary contributions[353] from the merchants and petty traders were to be utilised. In the South Konkan, remission of tree tax[384] was granted to Nagaisreshti.

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(379) Ibid. No. 16, L. 16.
(380) Ibid. No. 19, L. 76-81.
(381) Ibid. No. 21, L. 14
(382) Ibid. No. 26, L. 7-8.
(383) Ibid. Nos. 49 and 52 (Kavadegolla and Sedambal assemblies)
(384) Ibid. No. 40, L. 38

Besides these concessions in house and tree taxes, practically all donations to temples and priests carried tax--free gifts of lands. The outstanding examples being the land-grauls(385) by Mummuni of North Konkan and Bhoja II of Kolhapur.

Revenue and expenditure :

The principal sources of revenue of the government in the Śilāhāra dominions were the same as those in the Rashtrakuta or Chalukya Empires. The taxes especially the land-taxes were obviously the main sources of revenue, fines from those who were found guilty of various crimes and tributes from subordinate chiefs. There were many occasional exactions due to the continuous wars either for the defence of ones Kingdom or wars of aggression. The arrival of military and police (Chatabhata prevesa) may appear an empty term but the stark reality of this provision cannot be understood in the absence of direct data on the question.(386) As already discussed in the

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(385) Ibid. No. 14-6 Villages and fiels; No.15- One village

(386) Chhadvaideva's Prince of Wales Museum Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.14 mentions the officers summoned to attend the gift ceremony. They were "Shoulkikas" and the Chorodharanikas and the Gaulmikas that is collectors of taxes and duties, police and the military officers.

foregoing pages the revenue realised from the various taxes and levies was always in adequate to meet the growing expenses of the states. The epigraphic records which we have examined provide information about the gifts, donations, and tax free endowments to the priests and religious institutions, and are silent about the other sources of revenue for obvious reasons. They talk more of expenditure than of revenue of the state.

The first observation that we can make on the government expenditure was the heavy expenditure on public works though not on the works of general utility. King Jhanja is recorded to have built twelve[387] temples during a period of 20 years (c. 910-930 A.D.) and Amernath temple[388] took equal number of years to complete and Kings from South Konkan, Kolhapur, Akkalkot and other places also helped the temple-building activity. King Dhammiyar constructed a hill-fort and his capital[389] at a considerable cost.

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(387) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.11, L. 14-15.

(388) Ibid. No. 17

(389) Ibid. No. 41 V. 14.

and Gandaraditya built a lake[390] in the Irikudi village in the Misiryadesh (Miraj). All these are public works and constructed for the good of the state but only the lake would attract attention of our present generation because we attach much importance to its utility rather than spiritual merit or other non-material considerations.

The merchants of the famous 'Vir-vanaja' guilds voted contributions for maintenance and repairs to the Pārśvanath and Madhavesvar temples.[391] They levied the contributions on all sorts of sale and purchase of goods from the petty shop keepers to the rich goldsmiths. This activity would not however receive our approval as the whole expenditure was ~~examp~~ unproductive.

The following few examples will give some idea of the nature of public expenditure.

King Gandaraditya of Kolhapur[392] weighed himself against gold and distributed the gold among high priests. The same king gave a sumptous meal to a hundred thousand priests

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(390) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 45 L. 33-34.

(391) Ibid. Nos. 49 and 52.

(392) Ibid. No. 51 Tulapurashdana.

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at Prayag[393] in the Uttar Pradesh (Lakshabhojan).

The expenditure involved in these ceremonial spending must be tremendous. The other item of public spending was on war-effort. The statistics of the victories of the Silaharas are not available but a petty chief like the 'Mahamendalesvara Dhanasangraha[394] of Akkalkot in the 11th Century boasted of a strong armed force. The inscription said he had 18,000 cavalry, 8000 eminent warrior and countless foot soldiers. Even if we divest the description of its exaggerated figures we have to accept the fact that an army dispropertionate to its population and the state revenue was maintained by the feudal lords and Abu Zaid[395] was not wrong in stating that 'the troops of kings in India are numerous but they do not receive pay.'

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(393) Ibid. No. 45 L. 31, Prayag is not the confluence of Bhagavati and Kesari streams to the Kolhapur Panchaganga. This point is already discussed in Chapter V.

(394) Ep. Ind. XXVII pp 65-71.

(395) Abu Zaid - Elliot and Dowson Vol. I p. 7.

The costly wars and ostentations display of splendour to flatter their vanity made them organise feast for hundred thousand priests who hardly needed such a meal for only one day.(396)

The wretched subjects had no other alternative than to escape the heavy burden of taxation by concealing their property from royal officers as A. Al-Beruni observed in the 11th century.(397) The overlords of the subordinate chiefs could not afford to displease them as they had to depend on the levies sent by them.(398) The feudal chiefs indulged in loof and plunder and the peaceful cultivators and the hard working howkers of essential goods were the unfortunate victims. This was the general outline of the economic life of the common man in most of the kingdoms. We do not however find a corroborating evidence from the epigraphic records to arrive at this conclusion. If we have to trust some of the splendid things said about the Śilāhāra monarchs we may form altogether a different impression. A few examples are shown

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(396) Gandaraditya 'Lakshbhojan' Supra.

(397) Sachau II, 149.

(398) Lallanji Gopal op. cit. p. 253.

below :

(1) Apparajit was like a 'wish-fulfilling tree' of the petitioners.(399)

(2) Rattaraja(400) was described as the one who serves the old and excersises self control

(3) Gandaraditya(401) was praised as the remover of the miseries and sorrows of his subjects.

How much of this is conventional praise and how much a rehetorical flourish, it is hard to identify. We may however observe that besides the Brahmins who are traditionally described as poor(402) by the poets, these Silaharas also cared for other poor classes as is evident from the concessions granted to the temple servants(403) and the famities who were employed for temple service in Goa area.(404)

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(399) Aparajit's Bhandan Copper-grant C.I.I.Vol. VI, No.7, L. 32-33.

(400) Rattaraja's Bahpattan copper plate Ibid. No. 42 L.31-32

(401) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate Ibid. No.48 L.13.

(402) Kosambi D.D. Satakatrayadisubhasita Samgraha, Irod., p.81.

(403) Aparaditya's Chintra Stone-Insc. C.I.I. Vol. VI No.21 L.14.

(404) Rattaraja's Kharepatan Copper-plate Ibid. No.41 L.58-59.

It is easy to condemn the rulers of the early medieval times and paint a lurid picture of the poverty of the Indian people. Francisco Pelsart,(405) the chief of the Dutch Factory at Agra had drawn up such a picture of the life of 17th Century India " poverty so extreme and so miserable that the life of the people cannot be adequately depicted or described, for here is the home of stark want, and the dwelling-place of bitter woe". This description of India's poverty and his discription of the rapacity of the government servants whom he describes as "godless and unsighteous officers".(406) cannot be challenged even in the present century. However an attempt has to be made to give a sort of idea of the standard of living of the people during that period.

Standard of Living : Standard of living can be described as studies of consumption levels.(407) Mecieval society was stable with respect to both occupation and consumption and spending beyond ones station was prohibited. For working out the consumption levels lot of data is required along with the population figures. It is said that there had been no census work till the reign of Asoka. The population at

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(405) Moreland, W.H. From Akbar to Aurangzab, pp. 198-99.

(406) Ibid. p. 294.

(407) Encyclopaedia Britannica (1962).

that time was believed to be 10 to 14 crores. In the 16th century at the time of Akbar it was approximately 10 crores[408] The number of "parasites" created by the system of regular and occasional taxes was also considerable. Even if we consider the population of Silahara dominion during the 11th and 12th centuries to be about two crores or so[409] with the prices and the wages as given by Dr. Altekar.[410] We get more or less an idea of the standard of living. An example from the Kolhapur Inscription of Gandaraditya dated 1126 A.D. will[411] be sufficient.

According to the practice at that time the meal of a Brahman consited of white rice, a bowl of dal-broth with ghee, whey and four vegetables and betel-leaves after the meal. The quantity is not mentioned. On an average a revenue from a village was 1500 Drammas[412] in Konkan and in Kashali[413] twelve Brahmanes were to be fed with that much amount which would work to about 125 Dr. per year for meals and about 400 grams to half a kilogram of boiled rice in Konkan or equal amount of millets per day which was the staple food in the Desh area i.e. Kolhapur, Bijapur, Sholapur etc.

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(408) Davis, K. 'The population of India and Pakistan, 1951 p.7; Moreland op. cit. p. 302.
(409) anie - Chapter I.
(410) Altekar, A.S. 'Rashtrakutas pp. 386 and 397.
(411) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 48, L. 36-37.
(412) Ibid. No. 15 L. 77.
(413) Ibid. No. 60 L. 33-34.

The other figures relevant to the living standard of this class are furnished in Mummuni's grant.(414) It shows that an average Bhrz Brahman consumed about 300-400 grams of rice and some vegetables. The working class would need more food. The Brahmins were fed at the cost of the society. The poor labourers were not sure of payment as they had to work without payment. A state could levy a tax in labour(415) from those who could not pay in cash or in kind.

The low standard of living can be established from the figures available for a particular class of people. The medieval society was not a homogeneous one even in village. We have to classify them as (1) upper class and (2) lower classes.

The upper class in general, included the king and his family the feudal chiefs, ministers, state officers and prosperous Brahmins. The big merchants rivalled the kings in their affluence.(416) The masses of people lived in poverty but it was not a grinding poverty. The reasons being a

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(414) C.I.I. Vol. VI, 14.

(415) Manu. VII, 138.

(416) C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 52 Vijayaditya's Miraj Stone-Inscription.

population check exercised by constant wars and the lack of medical facilities and low hygienic standards. Secondly the availability of new lands by clearing forests, and minimum needs regarding comforts of life. The food in-take may be more but the cost of other things was very small, The village life had taught them to be self--supporting and the problem of unemployment as such did not arise. In view of the above conditions the life in the villages was slow but more comfortable than either under Akbar, the British or even after independence.

The life in the cities was still more comfortable. The services of various kinds were available to them which gave them more scope for the development of their personality according to the traditional pattern. The life of a King, a fendatory or a merchant barson, appears more luxarious than that of rich men of the 20th Century.

A King of North-Konkan with hardly a revenue of a couple of a million Drammas could maintain an army of between 50,000 to 80,000 with cavalry of best Arab horses and an elephant brigade equipped with the traditional

weapons. He used to move in state and could summon all the important men to witness a minor ceremony of grant of an orchard or a field to a Brahmin on the occasion of an eclipse.(417) A King of Kolhapur could arrange the marriages of sixteen Brahmins and assign them lands for their maintenance and could feed a lakh of priests at Prayāg.(418) and always spend his time in the pleasant company (sukhasamvad).

The feudatories of the Silaharas like Chamudaraja feudatory of King Chhitaraj(419) could maintain full paraphernalia and Nolamb(420) a feudatory of King Gandaraditya while receiving a gift of land from his overlord could claim to have constructed temples, he gave so much in charities.

The merchant barons like Bhabhana and his brother Dhamana could maintain merchant marine(421) and a betel-leaves-box holder(422) of the feudatory of king Vijayaditya(Kolhapur) could build a temple for the Tirthankara Parasvanath.

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(417) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.14, (Mummuni's) Thane Copper-plate)
(418) Ibid. No. 45 (Gandaraditya's Talele Copper-plate)
(419) Ibid. No.12 (Chhittaraja's Chinchani Copper-plate)
(420) Ibid. No. 46 (Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate)
(424) Ibid. No. 19 (Anantadeva's Kharepatan Copper-plate)
(422) Ibid. No. 53 (Vijayaditya's Kolhapur Stone-Inscription)

The standard of living is obviously that condition which a society of a particular period believes to be desirable for its progress according to the pattern that prevails at that time. The life depicted on the walls of Ambernath temple in the several sculptures shows the levels of their living. The common folks wear thick rough clothes and cheap ornaments, the aristocracy, the silken clothes and gold ornaments and the feudatories and their overlords in their full glory lived like millionaires with absolute authority. The life of the common man according to our present standards, might appear to be slow, miserable and colourless. Social standards are implicit in minimum wages however real income and relative values(423) should not be ignored while determining the levels of living.

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(423) This point is explained in foot notes 305 to 309 above.

CHAPTER VIII

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

The various phases in the history of the people bearing the eponym of Śilāhāra and spread over a wide region in the Deccan has been reviewed in the preceding pages. It is a regional history with a difference. It is an attempt to know the general trends as well as the special events and character of the change manifested during the long period of five hundred years in the fluid political conditions, in the early medieval age.

The Śilāhāras suffered obscurity because only the empire builders and military conquerors attract the attention of most of the historians. The sterling virtues which make a nation, many a time do not receive the due attention of scholars. The ideals of government, social reforms, nationalism and efforts to improve the conditions of the poor are matters of general interest. The pioneers in these fields however are hardly remembered as the present eye appreciates the present wonders.

The Śilāhāras had Cherished a great love for and pride in the conception and execution of an ideal, self-sacrifice for

the struggling masses, and kept Vidyādhar Jīmūtavāhana[1] as their ideal hero. Whenever there is a reference to the Aparer-katika, Amernath temple, colonisation of the Konkan by the Arabs the Jews, the Parsis and the settlements of Karade Brahmins, Kayasthas, Pathare Prabhus and the Shenvi Brahmans the history of the Śilāhāras cannot be avoided.

In the chapter on physical conditions an attempt has been made to focus the attention on the physical conditions which favoured the Śilāhāra race. The river systems and the coastal features have undergone a change during the last thousand years or so. It is therefore necessary to conceive of the movement of population and the small economic progress and political authority when forest, floods, tribal people, pirates and wild animals dominated the surroundings.

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(1) Jimutavahana was the hero of Nagananda a drama written by king Harsha in the 7th century, A.D. The story was contained in the Brihatkatha in the Paisachi dialect. It occured later on in Kathasaritsagora of Somadeva XXII, 16-257 and XC, 3-201 and Brihatkethamanjari of Kshemachandra IV, 50-108 and IX, 766-930. Both the authors belonged to the eleventh century.

A comprehensive history of the Śilāhāras is not possible at this state of our knowledge when sources are only fragmentary and tendentious for writing that type of history. The drawback of the available source material, especially the epigraphical sources, is that the inscriptions were composed by a set of persons who received the training in the craft, at places and at the hands of masters who were patronised by the then rulers.(2) These writers were Kayasthas and Brahmanes serving their erstwhile rulers in the capacity of ministers. The other important factor was that these writers showed certain religious leanings and preference for a language. They wrote in the language in which they had acquired proficiency and it was usually Sanskrit and the Kannada in the Deccan. The inscriptions were not meant for the common men who could read and understand; it was a symbol of dignity to be preserved.

The Kolhapur scribes wrote in a superlatire degree and it seems they were more in love with new adjectives they coined for their masters and thus lost sense of proportion. The Akkalkot writers were dreamers and the writers in the Konkan followed the middle course.

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(2) The only Kayastha writer that is mentioned is Uddama in the Janjira plates of King Aparajit of 993 A.D.
C.I.I. Vol. VI Nos. 5 and 6; the other Kayastha writer is Chaliga Pandit late in the 12th century in Parel Rock inscription of 1187 A.D. during the reign of Aparaditya II.

There is a rivalry to show their masters in the most brilliant colours. However there is always a 'conspiracy of silence' on the most vital matters such as defeats, revolutions and deaths. The historian's job is to glean the true facts and get at the thought behind the ~~facts~~ actions of these heroes and villains. They always magnify the virtues and vices to suit their point of view. This is not history.

The Śilāharas remained as Subordinate chiefs not by choice but because they were tied down by the weight of certain unchanging ideas. The Kolhapur Śilāhāras were engaged in their 'Sukha Sankathāvinod'[3]; South Konkan Śilāharas with their overseas and coastal trade[4] and the North Konkan Śilāharas confronted the diplomatic and sectarian manouvres of the rival powers.

The Śilāharas had to face the problem of assimilation into the Hindu Society of the Deccan. They were outsiders and wished to be accepted not as masters living in isolated position, held by the strength of arms, like the Muslim rulers of India or the British rulers, but as their own people, as Indians

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(3) C. I. I. Vol. VI, 43 Line 32.

(4) Ibid., No.4, L.57; No.19 Lines 75-81.

Every time these rulers made a gift or an endowment for a religious institutions they gathered the people around them. They kept them informed of what they liked and disliked. They invited their officers, leaders of important groups, the men of the three classes, the divines of various denominations and sects and the representatives of merchants.(5) The association of the cross-section of the society with such matters appealed to the sentiments of the masses.

They created Agraharas and gave donations to monasteries. The merchant guilds, the monasteries and Agraharas were the three institutions which received all types of assistance from the kings and they in their turn helped the kings of this race to get the popular support. They acted as the important agencies through which the stories about the lineage and the praise of their great deeds were propagated. These were the propaganda centres for the Śilahāra kings. The Śilāhara political activity might not have caught the eye of the people but their cultural activities received great approbation.(6) It seems that poets

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(5) Ibid. No.15, L. 42-43

(6) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol.VI,No.48,V.8; Avasara's Chikodi Copper-plate Ibid. No.40 V.11; Anantadevas Kharepatan copper-plate Ibid. No. 19, Lines 59-63.

projected the image of their masters to create an illusion of greatness in the minds of the people. The important factor was the historical development within the society.

The change that was brought by the economic progress was obviously a cumulative result of the activities from the Mauryan rulers of the Konkan to the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta. The patronage to the Arab merchants,(7) the temple economy, the coconut palm and arecanut gardens, the building of temples and the wars, brought about a far-reaching change. Some of the problems usually experienced by feudal states from the 8th Century onwards are discussed in Chapters II and IV to focus the attention on the changes brought about by the above mentioned factors and also to focus the attention on the role played by the Silāhāras.

The small men of the Deccan, that is, the Silāhāras had felt the tremours of the approaching storms in the different fields. They felt it more intensely, than the others, because they were more close to the people. King Aparājit sent his younger son Arikesari to pay a visit to the great temple of

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(7) Janjira plate of Aparajit Ibid. No.5 Line 40; Panaji Copper plate J.B.B.R.A.S. IX p. 283.

Sômnath with his army[8] and Anantadeva, great grandson of Aparājit with a view to building up a strong navy appointed 'Nauvitaka Vasaid' an Arab Sailor as his Minister of Admiralty.[9] It is for these reasons that a fresh look at the epigraphical records is necessary.

The origin and the homeland of the Śilāhāras is discussed in Chapter III. The views expressed there, may be contraversial. However we have to bear in mind that the analysis of the myths about their origin can reveal the more emphatic assumption of that society[10] and also what they thought about their past. The poet ministers of the Śilāhāras were not always the admirers of their kings; for example, Deva Pala under Avasara III of South Konkan was leaning towards Jainism and did not like the violence and material progress. This aspect has been discussed in Chapter IV while discussing the contribution of the Śilāhāra dynasties.

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(8) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.11 V. 13 (Chhittarajas Berlin Museum Copper-plate).

(9) Ibid., No. 19, Line 66.

(10) Romila Thapar, Ancient Indian Social History, pp. 294-95 f

The phase of historical development is discussed in Chapter V on religions conditions. The influence of Tantrism and Saivism which created such a far-reaching effect to shake up the foundation of the society, left its permanent imprient on the complexities of the time.(11) The war against the pirates, (ugrān-pāparāsin) and the sea-wars with the Kadambas and the Yadavas had in fact emphasised the need of the sovereign powers to pay more attention to the safety of the Western-Coast. The struggle for supremacy ~~or~~ in the Deccan between the later Chalukyas and the Cholas subsided after 1115 AD. and the competition for the naval supremacy was altogether suspended. The subsequent Hindu rulers could hardly succeed against the Bahamani's to seize the important port-towns. It was only in the 17th Century that Shivaji attempted to build a national navy. This aspect has been discussed in Chapter IV,

As stated earlier in Chapter III, the Śilāhāras were not the local people. They brought new outlook and new methods. These are discussed in the social, religious and political conditions during the Śilāhāra times. The first change that they introduced was/that they revived sun-worship in the Deccan and later on promoted Śiva worship in the Konkan and Jainism in the Desh regions.

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(11) Anantapala's Kharapatan Copper-Plate C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.19, Line 54.

The second change was the slow change from the agrarian system to plantation economy in the Konkan, and the transformation of the Deccan society into a feudal society.[12] The third change was that Konkan was brought into the main stream of political history of the Deccan, and even that of Central India, from the eleventh century onwards. The invasions by Parmara Bhoja,[13] Kadambas of Goa,[14] and the Chalukyas of Kalyani,[15] could not allow the coastal strip to endure in isolation.

The social life of the people is discussed in Chapter VI in which the new castes and the place of women in the Society are discussed in some detail. An attempt has been made to outline the life of a common man, the moral progress of the people and also the intellectual activities are discussed. The Śilāhāras had taken a bold step in describing themselves as belonging to the 'Khechara vamsa',[16]

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(12) Sharma, R.S. Indian Feudalism, Calcutta 1965

(13) Ep. Ind; Vol. XI, pp. 182f; Vol. XVIII, pp 322f.

(14) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 369.

(15) Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 42; Inscriptions from the Nanded District, intro., p. XX ii.

Jimūtavāhana Vamsa,[17] Śilāhāra Mahakshatriyavamsa,[18] and Śilāhara gotra.[19] It will be seen from the different names used as the names of the lineage (Vamsa) that they were struggling to establish their social position on the accepted lines after the 11th century, when Hindu society was being organised on rigid lines thereafter.

The Śilāharas did not allow themselves to be crushed down by the superstitions. They proudly defied the superstition that Saturday was an evil day for any work, the epithat "Śanivārsiddhi"[20] victorious even on Saturday was used by the North-Konkan as well as the Kolhapur Śilāhāras. This was in keeping with their reforming zeal as explained in Chapter VI.

In Chapter VII an attempt has been made to analyse the economic conditions with reference to agriculture, gardening, trade, and commerce and industries. As far as possible the

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(17) Ep. Ind. Vol., XXVII Line 32.
(18) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 53, Line 3
(19) Ibid. No.23 Line 24.
(20) Ibid., No.45, L. 22, No. 7 L.46 (Sanivarvijaya)

contents of the inscriptions have been analysed so that a true picture may emerge. I have shown in this chapter how the prices of land and the essential goods cannot be correctly worked out, yet the inscriptions give us sufficient information about the standard of living. The feudal economy created many tensions, the feudal lords, the bureaucracy and the demands of war always overshadowed the economic progress. The idea of 'Bhudeva Kalpadruma'(21) or 'Kalpadruma Prarthinam' may be very attractive adjectives but the poverty of the people cannot be expelled by a magic formula. '**Quit Poverty**'

Although the routine type of survey of literature, art and architecture is not taken here, I have tried to depict the social and cultural life of the people during this period as reflected in the sculpture especially on the walls and pillars of Siva temple at Ambernath near Kalyan; Maharashtra. I have made a case study of this temple and the report is given in the Appendix.(21-A)

There are many questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered. It would have been better if more data about their works of public utility, land reforms and industries was available. As already pointed out they were struggling under the weight

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(21) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 48, Lines 15-16.

(21A) P.506 below.

of tradition and war-economy. The courage that they showed to uphold the national freedom when attacked by their suzerains and neighbours, is worth emulating by any generation. It is a pity that there is no folk-song (pōwāḍā) or a drama to commemorate the death of four Śilāhāra Kings[22] on the battle-field. They laid down their lives in the cause of national freedom and the Konkan cherishes the memory of these heroes in Silence.

The name of the Śilāhāras has to be honourably mentioned when we discuss the architecture and temple sculpture dating a thousand years ago. In Maharashtra there are hardly any temples which can vie with the splendour of the Śiva temple at Ambernath.[23] The temple of Khidrāpur could not be completed by King Bhoja II, and the Jain temples in Kolhapur testify to the religious toleration which the Śilāhāras inculcated among their people.

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(22) Nagarjuna, Anantdeva, Mallikarjuna and Somesvara

(23) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.17. The work was started by Chittaraj and completed by Mummuni a period of more than 20 years. This is mentioned in line 6.

The very fact that Aparāditya (Aparārka) sent Tejkantha, in the second quarter of the 12th Century as his envoy to Kashmir (24) and that Aparārka's commentary on Yajñyavalkya Smriti is still regarded as a standard work, there testifies to the greatness of the ruler and the Śilāhāras in general.

The Śilāhāras placed a great ideal before the people; self-sacrife to save the toiling humanity as they accepted Jimutavāhana as their great source of inspiration. They also placed before the people the idea of 'Kalyan-Vijaya Rajya' a State with a noble ideal where the small man will be protected.

The impact of the evil practices of Tāntrism can be indirectly inferred from the contents of the inscriptions. The Vidyādharas the flying semi-gods also showed by their experience that the realities of life are more grim than the utopias of the heaven. They however did not hesitate from offering heavy sacrifice that was demanded to stop the foreign interference and also the machination of the merchant-barons and the feudal lords. They disappeared from the political scene because of military victory by the Yadava Singhana, Krishnadeva and Mahadeva. The empire that the Yadavas built collapsed within the next seventy years. The Śilāhāras however had showed the way; it was the naval strength that ought to have been given priority. The lesson was lost on the subsequent rulers also.

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(24) Mankha's Srikanthacherita Ch. 25 V. 109-110

APPENDIX - A

(CHAPTERS III & VI)

WRITERS OR COMPOSERS OF THE SILAHARA CHARTERS

Charter C.I.I.Vol.VI No.	The reigning King	Name of the Writer and engraver wherever mentioned
No.5 Janjira Copper Plate 9.8 993 AD.	Aperajit of North Konkan	Uddam Kayastha son of Chakkaiya
No.6 Janjira Copper-Plate 20-8-993 AD.	-do-	-do-
No.7 Bhadan Copper Plate 24-6-997 AD	-do-	Annapaiyya Son of Mahametya probably was the writer.
No.8 Thane Copper-plate 6-10-1017 AD	Arikesari (North Konkan)	Jogupaiyya nephew of Nagalaiyya Mimster for inter state relations and great poet. Engraved by Mandharpaiya Son of Vadapaiyya
No.9 Bhandup Copper-plate 28-10-1026 AD.	Chittaraj (North Konkan)	Jagupaiya
No.10 Dive Agar Copper-plate	-do-	Jowupeiya
No.11 Berlin Museum Copper-plate 5-4-1034 AD	-do-	-do-

Charter C.I.I.Vol.VI No.	The reigning King	Name of the Writer and engraver wherever mentioned
No. 12 Chamundaraj the feudatory of Chittarajas Chinchani 15-9-1034 AD	Chittaraj (North Konkan)	Mamalai Revenue Collector (Dhruva)
No.13 Thane Copper-plate 27-4-1039 AD	Nagarjun	Jogapaiya
No.14 Thane Copper Plate 20-2-1049 AD	Mummuni	-do-
No.15 Prince of Wales Museum 15-8-1049 AD.	Mummuni (North Konkan)	Nagalai
No.16 Dive Agar Copper-plate 22-7-1053 A.D.	-do-	Jowupai Minister for Treasury
No.17 Amernath Temple Stone-Inscription. 10-7-1060 A.D.	-do-	Mahapradhan Nagalai is mentioned but the name of the writer is not mentioned.
No.19 Kharepatan Copper-plate 9-1-1095 A.D.	Anantadeva I (North Konkan)	Sridhar Pandit

Charter C.I.I.Vol.VI No.	The reigning King	Name of the Writer and engraver wherever mentioned
No.20 Vadavali Copper-plate 21-10-1127 A.D.	Aparaditya I	Lakamaiya Chief Minister
No.23 Panhale Copper-plate 9-12-1139 A.D.	Vikramaditya (North Konkan)	Laxmidhar Pandit Son of Srinagaswami Pandit.
No.30 Lonad Stone-inscription 5-11-1184 A.D.	Aparaditya II (North Konkan)	Composed by Madhav and Written down by Gopiraja.
No.32 Parel Rock-Inscription 26-1-1187 A.D.	-do-	Kayastha Chaliga Pandit
No.40 Pattankudior Chikodi Copper-plate. 18-10-988 A.D.	Avasara III (South Konkan)	Sri Devapala Minister for inter-state relations. engraved by son of Vaman
No.41 Kharepatan Copper-plate 22-5-1008 A.D.	Rattaraja (South Konkan)	Lokaparya Son of Devapala
No.42 Bahapatan Copper-plate 24-12-1010 A.D.	-do-	-do-

Charter C.I.I.Vol.VI No.	The reigning King	Name of the Writer and engraver wherever mentione
No.43 Miraj Copper-plate 24-12-1058 AD	Marasimha (Kolhapur)	Chhikkadeva
No.45 Talele Copper-plate 5-5-1100 A.D.	Gandaraditya (Kolhapur)	Appoja
No.50 Seshashahi Devalaya Inscription Note dated	-do-	Varevaraditya Great Poet
No.54 Bamani Stone-Inscription 8-9-1150 A.D.	Vijayaditya (Kolhapur)	Govyoja Son of Bamyoja disciple of Abhinendadeva and a goldsmith.
No.60 Kasheli Copper-plate 27-11-1191 A.D.	Bhoja II (Kolhapur)	Written and engraved by a Brahman named Vamigana.
No.61 Bhoighar Copper-plate 3-9-1024 A.D.	Chittaraja (North Konkan)	Written by Jowupaiya engraved by Dharapai Son of Vedapaiya

...MS USED IN THE SENSE OF RULERSHIP IN THE S'ILAHARA INSCRIPTIONS.

Sriman; Raja.	Nripa	Nripati	Bhupati; Bhupal	Kshonipala & Other Terms.
Sriman Raja Jammiyar- C.I.I.VI No40 V9.	Nripa Kirtiraja- No45 V3.	Nripati-- Jatiga No46 V4.	Bhupati BhojadevaII No58 V13.	Kshonipala Marasimha No45 V4.
Srimat Aparajit ...35 V21.	Nripa Marasimha No60 L7.	Nripati Gonkaraj No43 V5.	Bhupal Gonkaraj No48 V8.	Kshitipati Vappuvana No10 Line8.
Sriman Vajjada- deva No14 ...lines 23 ...15 V15. ...L20	Nripa Gandaraditya No45 V8.	Nripati -JatigaII No45 V2.	Bhupala Guvala- deva No46 V 8.	Kshmapati Nagarjuna No13 L 31-32.
	Nripa Bhima- No40 V13.	Marasimha No46 V7.		Kshonipati No14 L31; No19 L44.
	Nripa AvasaraII- No41 V17.	Nripati Bhojadeva No46 V12.	Bhupala Ballala No45 V7.	Kshonipala Mummuni No14 L34.
...No33 ...5 ...at ...ideva ...4	Nripa Sanaphulla No42 V4.	Nripati Avasara No40 V15.	Bhupala Vajjada No5 V26.	Adhish- Jatiga No48 V8.
	Nripa Guhalaka No43 V6.	Nripati KapardiII No4 V22.	Bhupala	Adhipa Sri Pulla- sakti No1 Line2.
	Nripa Rhadvai- deva No4 V25 L38.	Nripati Chhittaraj No9 V11.	Bhupala	Kanaka-Jhanja No5 V22.
	Nripa Arikesari No11 L23.	Nripati Apararka No23 L26.	Bhupala	Narendra-JatigaII No46 V6.
			Bhupala	Mandalapati-Gandara- ditya No46 V18.
			Bhupala	Rayapitamaha Aparajit No8 V13.

...; The numbers shown are the serial numbers of C.I.I.Vol VI.

V. = Verse.

L..= Line.

APPENDIX - B

(CHAPTER V)

SRI GANESH TEMPLE AT REDDI - VENGURLA

The temple of Ganpati at Reddi has become famous from 1976 after the discovery of Ganpati idol 6 ft. high and about 3 ft. broad. This is claimed to be of one piece. It was found under mysterious conditions while digging for the Manganese ores. (The Gogate mines) one lorry driver Shri Sadanand Kamble. There is a myth about this Ganpati - Shri Kamble dreamt that one Ganapati idol was pressed deep down under the ground and was struggling to come out of the debris. He received the divine message that the idol should be restored and should be installed at the proper place. He was helped in this great excavation and discovery of the idol by his friend Vasudeva Juvelker.

The two young devotees of Ganapati therefore undertook to instal the image where it appeared in its full - glorious form by stages and not at one sudden burst. They claimed that the sculpture belongs to the Pandava period. At present the image is installed in the shrine which is the excavated part and there is no sabhagraha or the prayer-hall. It is an open square of about 14/15 ft. in front of the idol. Thus there is no difficulty of having Darshan of the deity. It is recently painted and from the style of the sculpture it is possible that the Chalukyas might have carved out the idol in the 9th or 10th Century A.D.

APPENDIX - C

(CHAPTER - VIIA)

Details of gifts of Land, fields and revenue granted by Mummuni, in his Thane Inscription S970 A.D. 1048 (C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 14)

14 Brahmins to receive the following share.

(Two to get two shares each and the rest one each)

Name of the District		Details of the grant
(I) Varetika Vishaya		
1) Eksal Village		From the total revenue equal to Dramma 445 + Graha Dramma + Kumar Gadiyan
2) Vadavali Village	269	
3) Bhutabali Village	223	" "
4) Asal "	548	" "
5) Village having Ghanteshvara temple.	48	" "
6) Umbervali	50	" "
Total Dramma	1583	+ Graha Drama + Kumar Gadiyan
(II) Abhyantarsasti Vishaya		
i) Mulund Village	Kotthar vedi field	Dr. 20 Mutak Khandi Kudav +Graha Dramma 1½ - -

ii) Voriyala village (Borivli)	Vad field	Dr.	36	3	3/4	- -
	Nihur "	Dr.	28*	1	1/2	- 10

* The word is Ashta dash but Mirashi takes it as 28.

	Wouponda "	Dr.	9	-	3	- 15

field + Graha Drammas

			Mutak	Khandi	Kudav
Total	Dramma	93	7	- 3-	5

(III) <u>Surparaksasti Vishaya</u>

(1) <u>Brahat Adanika</u>

			Mutaka
Pound fields (2)	Dr. 122	4 1/2	- -
Torani fields (2) 4 fields.	+4 houses	Near the Sugar cane fields.	

(2) <u>Laghu Adanika</u>

Mani field Madhu field	3 fields Dr. 50 + 1 House
Uttesrava field	House could be built.

(3) Khanuvada

Kusumbholi Field		Cash crops to be supervised
Pimpalvap		4 fields Dr. 80+3 Houses
Chanevati		
4 waste land		

(4) Pedhal

Thapal fields (2)

Saliyapa fields (2)

Pedhal Village

Jaluvenda Fields	Fields 5	Dr. 100 + Graha Drammes

Pedhal Village

Deiyala Field		
Kavadochhi Field	Fields 3	Dr. 100 -
Kani "		+ Graha Drammes

Pedhal Village

Khanu fields (2)	Dr. 100 - + Graha Drammes

Pedhal Village

Mazilvava field	
one piece of land (Pradeshik)	
Adhavaila "	Fields 3 Dr. 100 + Graha Drammes

Virar village

Uppala Pallika Village

Katcha field

Fields 28 Houses 8 4 ½ Mutak Drammes 652 6 Villages

7-3-5 "

M ka ku

G.T. 12-1-5 "

(Grant Total 12 Mutakas, 1 Khandi and 5 Kudavs)

---

12 Brahman to get Dr. 145.5 each

Narayan Pandit to get Dr. 291)
)
Diwaker Pandit to get Dr. 291)

12 Brahmins to get 61 Kudavs rice

2 Brahmins to get 122 Kudavs of rice

Eight houses in Adanika (Brahat and Laghu)

Aruhana : Balance after meeting the expense; Cash collection of taxes Hasta Dramma = Cash

Sidhaya : Fixed, agreed or selled Palandat = actual receipts; collection or Gross proceeds.

The charges for cleaning the coarse grain would be only 11% of the total.

A rough estimate of the needs of one person in respect of food alone would be between 250 to 300 kilos of rice per year.

It appears that the provision of food was for the period

of rainy season and some part of the grain was intended for cultivation. The dramma payment for the service expenditure which included use of tools and implements. There is no reference to animals - cows and bullocks. The Graha Drammas Kumari Gandhayana obviously paid to carry on day to-day expense and Hasta dramma must be for the unforseen expenditures.

Whenever paddy is not given it may refer to areas growing cash crops.

...

APPENDIX - C

(CHAPTER VIIB)

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Hasar (No. 49 Lines 26 to 32)

Sollage Kudav or 1/4 Balla

Balla Haunds

Kodavana 320 Rattis

Siddige 28 to 36 tola weight

Kolage 16 Maunds

Sangadi Two Siddige

Dandige

Solasa

Ohilam

Bhandig oda (donkey-load)

Moru (load carried by man)

COINS AND CURRENCY

Dramma - Rajatniska Kutapura Copper

(Silver) - Plate C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 64 Line 30 after Verse 15

Dinar - Weight 124 grain Gold coin Rattaraja Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 40, Line 36

Hannu
Poda — Ibid No. 41 Line 57
Gadyana
Dharana

Gaddyan weight 48 Gunja or 87. 84 grain (Lilavati)

Dharana is also known as Purana. It is usually a silver ~~xxx~~ coin. Elsewhere its eight is mentioned as 144 Gunja.

Gold Dharana is mentioned in Kharepatan, copper plate C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 41 Line 57.

Manusmriti gives the weight of gold Dharna as 10 Pala or 3200 Gunja (Manu, 8134-136).

Silaharas gold Gadhyana and gold Dharna was equal to 48 and 24 Gunjas respectively (Lilavati).

Visa C.I.I. Vol. VI ~~x~~ No. 39 L 14; No. 55 Line 21. It was 1/20 part of Dramma.

Pona and Haga (Bhaga). They were ropper coins.

Only the coins of Chhittaraja are found so far J.R.A.S. for 1900, P. 118.

Porutha Dramma, Bom. Gaz., Vol. I, part II, p. 21, No.6 C.I.I. Vol. VI No. 39. Lines 13-14.

Pannam and Bisige. C.I.I. Vol. VI no. 4 Line 27-28.

In Somesvara's Change stone-Inscription, it is stated that 10 Visova and 162 Drammas were granted, (No. 39 Lines 13-14).

Since he has mentioned Visova first it must be a gold coin and Dramma silver coin.

The question arises whether Drama and Dama are different. In 31 Line 10 both the words occur and thus they may be regarded as equivalent.

THE ŚIVA TEMPLE AT AMBERNATH

A Case Study :

LOCATION

The township of Ambernath is about 5 kms. South East of Kalyan and the temple is near the foot of the Bawa Malanga or Haji Malang Hill. This temple appears to be situated in a lower plane as one moves towards it from the east or north. To the South of the temple is a stone quarry. About two hundred meters to its east is a pool of water and near the temple is a rivulet. The temple stands on the edge of this rivulet which is known as the Valdhan river. The main entrance to the temple is from the West and two other entrances are to the north and south. The east side having the Shrine and a tower (Vimana) did not provide for an entrance.

This river rises near the base of the Haji Malang Hill and flows Northward to meet the river Ulhas above 2 kms. from Kalyan.

The Ulhas river was navigable upto Ambivli and the village of Amboli or Ambivli was a trading centre. The merchants used to visit this place and the Budhist

monastery was in the vicinity of the present Ambernath temple. It was known as Amba like Vihar from there the merchants used to carry their goods through Nane Ghat to Pratishthan that is the modern Paithan (Sobhana Gokhle's article regarding the unpublished Brahmi Inscription at Kaneheri. B.I.S.N. Pune 1976, No. 3-4)

HISTORY

In Mummuni's inscription of the Ambernath temple dated 27-3-1061 A.D., there is a referance of renovated township (Samūdhar Pātalyām). This will explain why the temple was built on the site which even to day seems to be an isolated place. Further it may be pointed out that the temple is built on a lower level than the surrounding land. The reason may be that it should not be easily visible to a stranger.

The ancient Valukeśvara temple was supposed to have been built by an earlier Śilāhāra King, Jhanja, on the top of the Malabar hill, Bombay, and it was demolished by the invading armies of the Muslims.

The building work of Ambernath was under-taken probably after the desecration and distruction of the famous Somnath temple of Saurastra in 1026 A.D. The visit to that temple by Prince Ankesari of the command of his father Anarajit may have some connection for undertaking the work by his nephew.

THE STRUCTURE

The whole architecture is joined without mortar or iron rods and the structure is balanced on the excellently worked out heavy stones. There are rows of artistically worked out marked faces (Kīrtimūkh), rows of elephants and men decorating the walls of the central hall and the inner temple. There are no rows of horses or other domestic animals. However it must be noted that the various human figures scalptured on the surfaces of the columns and the walls present a panoramic view of the glories of the paste. There is an attempt to show the social life of the people, family, man, woman, and a child; then the simple amusements like some dance and aerobatics are shown. There is also an

attempt to show folk dances and the daily routine of farmers going out to work or women folk doing their work. Besides these pictures of every day life there are some larger figures which might be those of kings and queens representing the higher society.

SCULPTURE

On the pillar facing the inner-temple to the right hand there is a standing figure wearing crown and is well-dressed according to the Śilāhār style, with full head gear.

The image of Siva in meditation is carved along with the image of yogi (ascetive) elephant and lion on the capital (head-strip-Shirshapatti). On each side of the door are shown a man wearing a crown like head gear, ~~stands~~ and a figure of a woman. It might be representing the royal couple or members of the royal family. On both sides of the door there are niches (Devli) and the image of Ganpati is kept in the right side niche and the left is empty.

SABHA-GRIHA

At the centre of the Hall facing the Central space there are four columns exquisetly carved which form 22 ft. square (length 2 breadth) Sabha-griha. These Columns are broad at the base, then Octangular, and circular in shape at the tops, and they taper upwards with broken bits attached to the architrave. The square architrave (Shirshapatti) holds the dome of the Hall. These columns are decorated with excellent sculptured figures and creepeds and leaves. The concentric five circles which progressively decrease in size form the ceiling of the Hall and at the centre of ceiling is a lotus flower. The outer circle is carved with creepers and leaves and the inner four circles are decorated by semi cricular figures.

THE ART-THEME

The bold lines below the knees of the human figures suggest the ends of the dhoti-cloth worn in the loose style, fashionable among ancient kings. The ornaments on the neck, chest and arms and with a cheerfulness on the face convey

the idea of a contended ruler. On the panels which surrounded the column, the figures of men and women probably attending on the king with women carrying fly whisks decorate the recesses on the wall. There is a deliberate attempt to depict the scenes from every day life of the people in its rural serenity along with the life of the high society of cities.

DEITIES SIVA

The human figures on the columns are associated with the figures of deities where God Ganpati and Siva play a dominant role. The female deities aree also shown to impress upon the mind of the observer the benevolence of the devine family. The whole sculpture on the columns, the masked faces and the flying Apsaras at the end of the circle on the ceilings are done in such a way that the combined effect of the tenor of life of animals, plants, men and women with the bene volence of the devine figures makes a great impact. The ddivine couples or the royal figures interspersed on the main columns add up a total effect of the excellence of a celestial sanetuary for life in various forms.

On the outside walls of the temple there are several panels, the middle being longer than the ones below or above them except where prominence is to be lent to a figure of a deity or a meditating ascetic or an angel.

Usually the back side wall of the temple displays the figure of the main deity in a central panel. It indicates the character of the religious definition of the temple. The figure at the back that is in the eastern face of the temple resemble the celebrated Trimūrthi figure of Siva which is found at Gharapuri or Elephanta. The only difference is that, it is a standing Trimurthi with a matted hair holding a crown, wearing necklaces, and a belt round the waist, also the ornaments on the hands and feet are elegantly carved. The figure is now in a mutilated form. Only the hand holding a snake upwards is still in good state. There are two small figures on either side of Siva indicating that these are the devotees.

FEMALE DEITIES

On the Northern face of the wall there is a statue of Mahakali with eight hands. She is wearing a garland of skulls round her neck and is dancing. She is holding a dagger, sword, Trident (Three pointed pike) and other different weapons. On ~~the~~ either side of the figure there are identical figures with the Mahakali. The impression gathered after seeing this figure is that of terror and the site is revolting.

Just below the cell in the panel of the Mahakali figure is the figure of Brahmadeva with three faces and allowing Savitri to sit in his lap in a rather romantic pose of an embrace. The fourth face of the Brahmadeva is not shown as it is to be considered as concealed from the view because of the back-ground wall. He is holding a garland of berries sacred to Siva and a vessel used in the performance of Sacrifice.

On Southern part of the outside structure is the figure of a dancing eight armed Goddess Chandika. The

hands of the sculptured figure are now in a mutilated state. The demon faces downwards and is being trampled under the foot. He is lying in a helpless state and the expression on the face of the Goddess is of devine cheerfulness. She is adorned by the ornaments, circular ear-rings, necklace studded with precious stones, the waist-belt and anklets. The whole sight conveys an idea of a great relief after the annihilation of evil forces. However according to some experts it is Siva that is trampled by Sakti.

At many places on the frieze of the temple are many figures of Siva such as half-male, half-female form of Siva (Ardha Narinatesvera).

VISHNU

The most remarkable figure is that of Vishnu on the South West. He holds a 'Nandak' bow in his hand, lotus flower/a counch and a club, He is wearing a crown on his head and several ornaments enrich the divine figure. On the right side below the figure is his vehicle, the Eagle

sitting there. This panel is decorated by a big masked face and below this on both side of the figure there are several figures engraved in the two circles.

Besides the figures of Gods and Goddesses the outside walls of the temple are embellished by beautiful sculptures of angels. In each corner of a set of two towers which stand in a row together to form the magnificient, single tower or Shikhar of the temple viewed from a distance are figures of common women folks of that period.

A PEASANT WOMAN

A woman is shown standing with a traditional pot (Kalash) in her right hand. From her face, the low forehead, short-length saree and the ordinary ornaments worn by her, she is clearly a peasant woman. On the other side of the temple wall that is to the South east at a height of about 20 ft. a peasant is shown leaning on a staff. He wears a small loin cloth (Langoti) and a turban and is completely bare. The expression on his face is that of cheerfulness.

Some of the more outstanding features of the sculptures are as follows :-

(1) At the top of the temple on either side, that is to the north and south faces of the structure is a figure of a divine warrior. He has four hands and he carries a spear like weapon and small demonish figures are shown near his raised hand. His crown is slightly inclined backward. One such figures faces east and the other the west. Evidently they are the guardian celestial figures. The place indicated is a hilly region. From these details I conclude that the guardian figure is that of Yaksha Manibhadra who was known as giver of wealth and the commander of Kubera. He was worshipped by merchants. In Vardhanpur and Mithila his Chaityas were found (Dhere R.C., Loka Sanskritichi Kshitije; pp. 35-46 ff). If my identification is correct then I may say that the Ambernath temple was a meeting place of the traders.

(2) The second impressive figure high above the ground say about 20 ft. or so near the west ward main entrance is that of Revana - strong dark without his additional heads holding the ~~f~~ hill and on that there is a couple. The Mahabharata story of Ravana carrying the Kailash with Siva Parvati is

reminded. The absence of the ten heads makes it an intriguing sight.

(3) The third impressive figure is that of a three-headed Siva the central figure is shown with a Persian type of Beard. It is in a sitting position and is at a height of 10 to 12 ft. on the north-west wall from the ground.

(4) On the opposite side that is South-west wall is a figure of a dancing Ganapati. This is a classical style and resembles the famous dancing Ganesh of Brahadesvara temple at Tanjore.

(5) On the eastern wall is a moulded statue which is very intriguing. The face is that of a woman with hair done in a Greek style but with a flat chest. The back side of the figure is given more prominence so that a viewer finds a twisted body. The impression one gets is that of an enuch or a slave to be found among the Arab-Persians. It is ardha-nari on the human plane. The expression on the face is that of submission.

(6) Near this strange figure of a girlish boy is a figure prominently carved, that of an ascetic. He looks like a fakir but as the thread is shown (they yajñopavita) on the

right, and head covered with cloth and a Persian type beard a strange combination. He is neither a fakir, nor the usual type, of Sadhu he may be a 'Kanfatya Yogi' Near this figure to its right are a couple of ascetics, one a naked Jain and another a Hindu Sadhu.

(7) On the north-western side wall there are two beareded ascetics standing opposite charming apsaras. This may be a representation of the high discipline for the ascetics. If they could over-come the temptation of the worldly charms they would attain the great release. It is interesting to find that below this panel there is a frieze depicting all sorts of sex perversion, a scene of vulptous coquetry and in fact one cannot contemplate these scenes if one wishes to admire it with one's family members. The Khajurao art is reproduced here. The spiritual explanation is always there. This clearly shows the influence of Tantrism on the high society during the 11th century on the west coast of India.

(8) Near this obscene panels and the Siva sitting high and near him the Yogis in the company of apsaras are the sculptured figures of men of high status. The figure which faces the viewer as he approaches the entrance of the temple from the northern side is a two feet tall King's figure. He can be identified as a

King because of his crown in the Persian style, the broad necklace hanging down, a staff indicating authority and the silken clothes just marked by prominent lines. He is beareded and has a moustache curled upwards. To the right of the figure is a young man without any arms but wearing a triangular tall head-gear, handsome and he can be identified as a prince. The artist has done his best to carve out a dignified figures. If we compare the scenes on the north-west side with the south-east we find some clues to the social aspirations of the people. Ascetics on both sides, Kings, princes, and princesses, dancing girls, sex laxity and discipline, common men and high placed men, a real complex type of life.

(9) From the large size panels, as we fix our attention on the lower panels, there is lower moral life practically the whole north wall frieze, four feet from the ground, is covered with promiscous sax life. On the other three sides at the same level the frieze contains dancing figures. May be after arousing the baser sentiments there is a progressive higher side till you go round from the north-west-south-east and back to north. You really witness many sided life of common men and woemn. The folk dances; the dance of drums

(Dholacha nach); turning, the step-dance, the Tarapi dance and the Jumping dance, the Zenda dance, are depicted. It is shown in the groups of three and seven on either side of a rec recess in which Ganapati or Gauri is seated. The dance is accompanied by music. Flute, a long one, cymbals; cylindrical drum (Dholak or mridung) and drum to be beaten on one side are shown. The women dancing a sort of Koli or fishermen group dance, hold each other round the waist or necks. The sight is pleasing. One woman is shown with a squarish thing while dancing, it may be a winnowing pan or some sort of a pot. The group dances are mainly shown but there are panels containing Kathak dances with the accompaniment of flute and mridang. Some half naked women and women back to back may represent the devadasis dancing before female deities.

This temple contains many themes of dances. The divine dances of Siva and Ganapati, on the south-west we find in 'Lasya' mudra, not the usual Nataraj.

(10) The lower bottom frieze contains figures of elephants. Some experts say that elephants represent Naga-worship. Here the scenes from the war are also shown,

training the elephants, killing the elephant fearless feats between two furious elephants are shown. There is only one mould of a horse and that is on the eastern face of the outer-wall. It may be Indra's 'Airavat' or may be a scene of horse-riding. It is in a mutilated form and hence cannot be properly identified.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE

The foreign influence on the daily life of the people is also evident. On the eastern side, about four feet from the ground there is a carved figure of a woman wearing a long cloak training goats or dogs, one standing upon the other. There are three figures one upon the other and a woman with a rod controlling them. Inside the temple behind the main entrance, a man with a longish hair upto the shoulder is seen putting his hand into the mouth of a tiger. The bearded figures either of Gods or Kings and ascetics show the foreign style. The crowd scene is shown in a panel to the south-east may be witnessing a public show.

The decoration inside the temple is also exotic. The sentinel at the gate of the inner shrine wears a turban and King's figure carved on the pillar wearing a beard and a crown show the foreign influence.

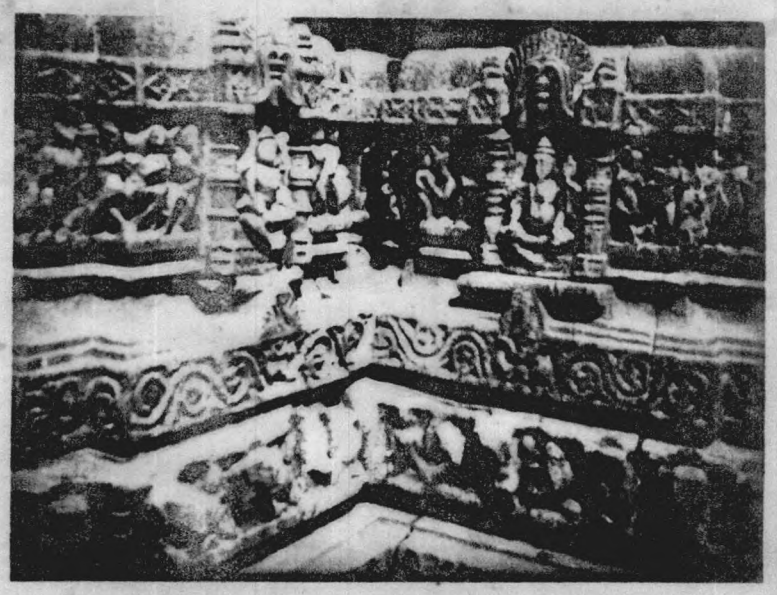
GENERAL REMARKS

Among the surviving medieval architecture no temple in Maharashtra can equal its grandeur, not even Mahalaxmi temple of Kolhapur or the half finished temple at Khidrapur. The sculptors who carved and moulded the figures are from the same school as the sculptors who decorated the temples at Ellor and Tanjore. Those who conceived of the designs and decoration were men conversant with Puranas and Jatakas. They were sensitive to the changes brought about during their period. The figures of the Kings are exquisitely done. I feel that the King's figure inside the temple on a right hand pillar is that of King Chhittaraj and on the outside wall on the nort-west those of Nagarajun (the elderly person) and Prince Mummuni to his left. The study cannot be complete without saying that this Siva-Lingam is autochthon, that is 'Svayambhu' in simple words it sprang up from the ground and hence the temple had to be built with decoration of the scenes from wordly, midheavenly and heavenly life, so that Sat, Chit and Ananda could be attained by the visitors.

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Social Life as reflected in the Ambernath sculpture.

The Folk-dance



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The ascetic



The court life



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CHAPTER VIII

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

The various phases in the history of the people bearing the eponym of Śilāhāra and spread over a wide region in the Deccan has been reviewed in the preceding pages. It is a regional history with a difference. It is an attempt to know the general trends as well as the special events and character of the change manifested during the long period of five hundred years in the fluid political conditions, in the early medieval age.

The Śilāhāras suffered obscurity because only the empire builders and military conquerors attract the attention of most of the historians. The sterling virtues which make a nation, many a time do not receive the due attention of scholars. The ideals of government, social reforms, nationalism and efforts to improve the conditions of the poor are matters of general interest. The pioneers in these fields however are hardly remembered as the present eye appreciates the present wonders.

The Śilāhāras had Cherished a great love for and pride in the conception and execution of an ideal, self-sacrifice for

the struggling masses, and kept Vidyādhar Jīmūtavāhana[1] as their ideal hero. Whenever there is a reference to the Aparer-katika, Amernath temple, colonisation of the Konkan by the Arabs the Jews, the Parsis and the settlements of Karade Brahmins, Kayasthas, Pathare Prabhus and the Shenvi Brahmans the history of the Śilāhāras cannot be avoided.

In the chapter on physical conditions an attempt has been made to focus the attention on the physical conditions which favoured the Śilāhāra race. The river systems and the coastal features have undergone a change during the last thousand years or so. It is therefore necessary to conceive of the movement of population and the small economic progress and political authority when forest, floods, tribal people, pirates and wild animals dominated the surroundings.

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(1) Jimutavahana was the hero of Nagananda a drama written by king Harsha in the 7th century, A.D. The story was contained in the Brihatkatha in the Paisachi dialect. It occured later on in Kathasaritsagora of Somadeva XXII, 16-257 and XC, 3-201 and Brihatkethamanjari of Kshemachandra IV, 50-108 and IX, 766-930. Both the authors belonged to the eleventh century.

A comprehensive history of the Śilāhāras is not possible at this state of our knowledge when sources are only fragmentary and tendentious for writing that type of history. The drawback of the available source material, especially the epigraphical sources, is that the inscriptions were composed by a set of persons who received the training in the craft, at places and at the hands of masters who were patronised by the then rulers.(2) These writers were Kayasthas and Brahmanes serving their erstwhile rulers in the capacity of ministers. The other important factor was that these writers showed certain religious leanings and preference for a language. They wrote in the language in which they had acquired proficiency and it was usually Sanskrit and the Kannada in the Deccan. The inscriptions were not meant for the common men who could read and understand; it was a symbol of dignity to be preserved.

The Kolhapur scribes wrote in a superlatire degree and it seems they were more in love with new adjectives they coined for their masters and thus lost sense of proportion. The Akkalkot writers were dreamers and the writers in the Konkan followed the middle course.

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(2) The only Kayastha writer that is mentioned is Uddama in the Janjira plates of King Aparajit of 993 A.D.
C.I.I. Vol. VI Nos. 5 and 6; the other Kayastha writer is Chaliga Pandit late in the 12th century in Parel Rock inscription of 1187 A.D. during the reign of Aparaditya II.

There is a rivalry to show their masters in the most brilliant colours. However there is always a 'conspiracy of silence' on the most vital matters such as defeats, revolutions and deaths. The historian's job is to glean the true facts and get at the thought behind the ~~facts~~ actions of these heroes and villains. They always magnify the virtues and vices to suit their point of view. This is not history.

The Śilāharas remained as Subordinate chiefs not by choice but because they were tied down by the weight of certain unchanging ideas. The Kolhapur Śilāhāras were engaged in their 'Sukha Sankathāvinod'[3]; South Konkan Śilāharas with their overseas and coastal trade[4] and the North Konkan Śilāharas confronted the diplomatic and sectarian manouvres of the rival powers.

The Śilāharas had to face the problem of assimilation into the Hindu Society of the Deccan. They were outsiders and wished to be accepted not as masters living in isolated position, held by the strength of arms, like the Muslim rulers of India or the British rulers, but as their own people, as Indians

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(3) C. I. I. Vol. VI, 43 Line 32.

(4) Ibid., No.4, L.57; No.19 Lines 75-81.

Every time these rulers made a gift or an endowment for a religious institutions they gathered the people around them. They kept them informed of what they liked and disliked. They invited their officers, leaders of important groups, the men of the three classes, the divines of various denominations and sects and the representatives of merchants.(5) The association of the cross-section of the society with such matters appealed to the sentiments of the masses.

They created Agraharas and gave donations to monasteries. The merchant guilds, the monasteries and Agraharas were the three institutions which received all types of assistance from the kings and they in their turn helped the kings of this race to get the popular support. They acted as the important agencies through which the stories about the lineage and the praise of their great deeds were propagated. These were the propaganda centres for the Śilahāra kings. The Śilāhara political activity might not have caught the eye of the people but their cultural activities received great approbation.(6) It seems that poets

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(5) Ibid. No.15, L. 42-43

(6) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol.VI,No.48,V.8; Avasara's Chikodi Copper-plate Ibid. No.40 V.11; Anantadevas Kharepatan copper-plate Ibid. No. 19, Lines 59-63.

projected the image of their masters to create an illusion of greatness in the minds of the people. The important factor was the historical development within the society.

The change that was brought by the economic progress was obviously a cumulative result of the activities from the Mauryan rulers of the Konkan to the Rashtrakutas of Manyakheta. The patronage to the Arab merchants,(7) the temple economy, the coconut palm and arecanut gardens, the building of temples and the wars, brought about a far-reaching change. Some of the problems usually experienced by feudal states from the 8th Century onwards are discussed in Chapters II and IV to focus the attention on the changes brought about by the above mentioned factors and also to focus the attention on the role played by the Silāhāras.

The small men of the Deccan, that is, the Silāhāras had felt the tremours of the approaching storms in the different fields. They felt it more intensely, than the others, because they were more close to the people. King Aparājit sent his younger son Arikesari to pay a visit to the great temple of

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(7) Janjira plate of Aparajit Ibid. No.5 Line 40; Panaji Copper plate J.B.B.R.A.S. IX p. 283.

Sômnath with his army[8] and Anantadeva, great grandson of Aparājit with a view to building up a strong navy appointed 'Nauvitaka Vasaid' an Arab Sailor as his Minister of Admiralty.[9] It is for these reasons that a fresh look at the epigraphical records is necessary.

The origin and the homeland of the Śilāhāras is discussed in Chapter III. The views expressed there, may be contraversial. However we have to bear in mind that the analysis of the myths about their origin can reveal the more emphatic assumption of that society[10] and also what they thought about their past. The poet ministers of the Śilāhāras were not always the admirers of their kings; for example, Deva Pala under Avasara III of South Konkan was leaning towards Jainism and did not like the violence and material progress. This aspect has been discussed in Chapter IV while discussing the contribution of the Śilāhāra dynasties.

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(8) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.11 V. 13 (Chhittarajas Berlin Museum Copper-plate).

(9) Ibid., No. 19, Line 66.

(10) Romila Thapar, Ancient Indian Social History, pp. 294-95 f

The phase of historical development is discussed in Chapter V on religions conditions. The influence of Tantrism and Saivism which created such a far-reaching effect to shake up the foundation of the society, left its permanent imprient on the complexities of the time.(11) The war against the pirates, (ugrān-pāparāsin) and the sea-wars with the Kadambas and the Yadavas had in fact emphasised the need of the sovereign powers to pay more attention to the safety of the Western-Coast. The struggle for supremacy ~~or~~ in the Deccan between the later Chalukyas and the Cholas subsided after 1115 AD. and the competition for the naval supremacy was altogether suspended. The subsequent Hindu rulers could hardly succeed against the Bahamani's to seize the important port-towns. It was only in the 17th Century that Shivaji attempted to build a national navy. This aspect has been discussed in Chapter IV,

As stated earlier in Chapter III, the Śilāhāras were not the local people. They brought new outlook and new methods. These are discussed in the social, religious and political conditions during the Śilāhāra times. The first change that they introduced was/that they revived sun-worship in the Deccan and later on promoted Śiva worship in the Konkan and Jainism in the Desh regions.

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(11) Anantapala's Kharapatan Copper-Plate C.I.I.Vol.VI,No.19, Line 54.

The second change was the slow change from the agrarian system to plantation economy in the Konkan, and the transformation of the Deccan society into a feudal society.[12] The third change was that Konkan was brought into the main stream of political history of the Deccan, and even that of Central India, from the eleventh century onwards. The invasions by Parmara Bhoja,[13] Kadambas of Goa,[14] and the Chalukyas of Kalyani,[15] could not allow the coastal strip to endure in isolation.

The social life of the people is discussed in Chapter VI in which the new castes and the place of women in the Society are discussed in some detail. An attempt has been made to outline the life of a common man, the moral progress of the people and also the intellectual activities are discussed. The Śilāhāras had taken a bold step in describing themselves as belonging to the 'Khechara vamsa',[16]

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(12) Sharma, R.S. Indian Feudalism, Calcutta 1965

(13) Ep. Ind; Vol. XI, pp. 182f; Vol. XVIII, pp 322f.

(14) Ep. Ind., Vol. XIII, p. 369.

(15) Ind. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 42; Inscriptions from the Nanded District, intro., p. XX ii.

Jimūtavāhana Vamsa,[17] Śilāhāra Mahakshatriyavamsa,[18] and Śilāhara gotra.[19] It will be seen from the different names used as the names of the lineage (Vamsa) that they were struggling to establish their social position on the accepted lines after the 11th century, when Hindu society was being organised on rigid lines thereafter.

The Śilāharas did not allow themselves to be crushed down by the superstitions. They proudly defied the superstition that Saturday was an evil day for any work, the epithat "Śanivārsiddhi"[20] victorious even on Saturday was used by the North-Konkan as well as the Kolhapur Śilāhāras. This was in keeping with their reforming zeal as explained in Chapter VI.

In Chapter VII an attempt has been made to analyse the economic conditions with reference to agriculture, gardening, trade, and commerce and industries. As far as possible the

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(17) Ep. Ind. Vol., XXVII Line 32.
(18) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 53, Line 3
(19) Ibid. No.23 Line 24.
(20) Ibid., No.45, L. 22, No. 7 L.46 (Sanivarvijaya)

contents of the inscriptions have been analysed so that a true picture may emerge. I have shown in this chapter how the prices of land and the essential goods cannot be correctly worked out, yet the inscriptions give us sufficient information about the standard of living. The feudal economy created many tensions, the feudal lords, the bureaucracy and the demands of war always overshadowed the economic progress. The idea of 'Bhudeva Kalpadruma'(21) or 'Kalpadruma Prarthinam' may be very attractive adjectives but the poverty of the people cannot be expelled by a magic formula. '**Quit Poverty**'

Although the routine type of survey of literature, art and architecture is not taken here, I have tried to depict the social and cultural life of the people during this period as reflected in the sculpture especially on the walls and pillars of Siva temple at Ambernath near Kalyan; Maharashtra. I have made a case study of this temple and the report is given in the Appendix.(21-A)

There are many questions which cannot be satisfactorily answered. It would have been better if more data about their works of public utility, land reforms and industries was available. As already pointed out they were struggling under the weight

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(21) Gandaraditya's Kolhapur Copper-plate C.I.I. Vol. VI, No. 48, Lines 15-16.

(21A) P.506 below.

of tradition and war-economy. The courage that they showed to uphold the national freedom when attacked by their suzerains and neighbours, is worth emulating by any generation. It is a pity that there is no folk-song (pōwāḍā) or a drama to commemorate the death of four Śilāhāra Kings[22] on the battle-field. They laid down their lives in the cause of national freedom and the Konkan cherishes the memory of these heroes in Silence.

The name of the Śilāhāras has to be honourably mentioned when we discuss the architecture and temple sculpture dating a thousand years ago. In Maharashtra there are hardly any temples which can vie with the splendour of the Śiva temple at Ambernath.[23] The temple of Khidrāpur could not be completed by King Bhoja II, and the Jain temples in Kolhapur testify to the religious toleration which the Śilāhāras inculcated among their people.

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(22) Nagarjuna, Anantdeva, Mallikarjuna and Somesvara

(23) C.I.I. Vol. VI, No.17. The work was started by Chittaraj and completed by Mummuni a period of more than 20 years. This is mentioned in line 6.

The very fact that Aparāditya (Aparārka) sent Tejkantha, in the second quarter of the 12th Century as his envoy to Kashmir (24) and that Aparārka's commentary on Yajñyavalkya Smriti is still regarded as a standard work, there testifies to the greatness of the ruler and the Śilāhāras in general.

The Śilāhāras placed a great ideal before the people; self-sacrife to save the toiling humanity as they accepted Jimutavāhana as their great source of inspiration. They also placed before the people the idea of 'Kalyan-Vijaya Rajya' a State with a noble ideal where the small man will be protected.

The impact of the evil practices of Tāntrism can be indirectly inferred from the contents of the inscriptions. The Vidyādharas the flying semi-gods also showed by their experience that the realities of life are more grim than the utopias of the heaven. They however did not hesitate from offering heavy sacrifice that was demanded to stop the foreign interference and also the machination of the merchant-barons and the feudal lords. They disappeared from the political scene because of military victory by the Yadava Singhana, Krishnadeva and Mahadeva. The empire that the Yadavas built collapsed within the next seventy years. The Śilāhāras however had showed the way; it was the naval strength that ought to have been given priority. The lesson was lost on the subsequent rulers also.

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(24) Mankha's Srikanthacherita Ch. 25 V. 109-110